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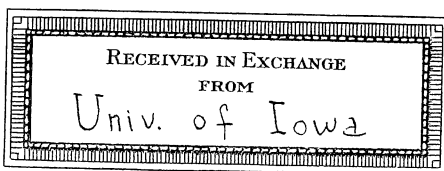
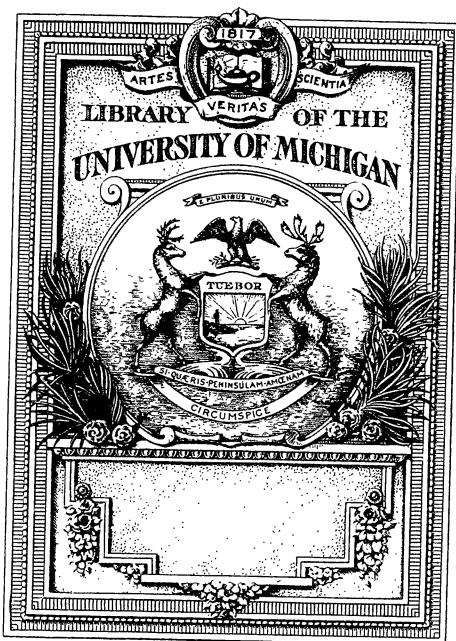
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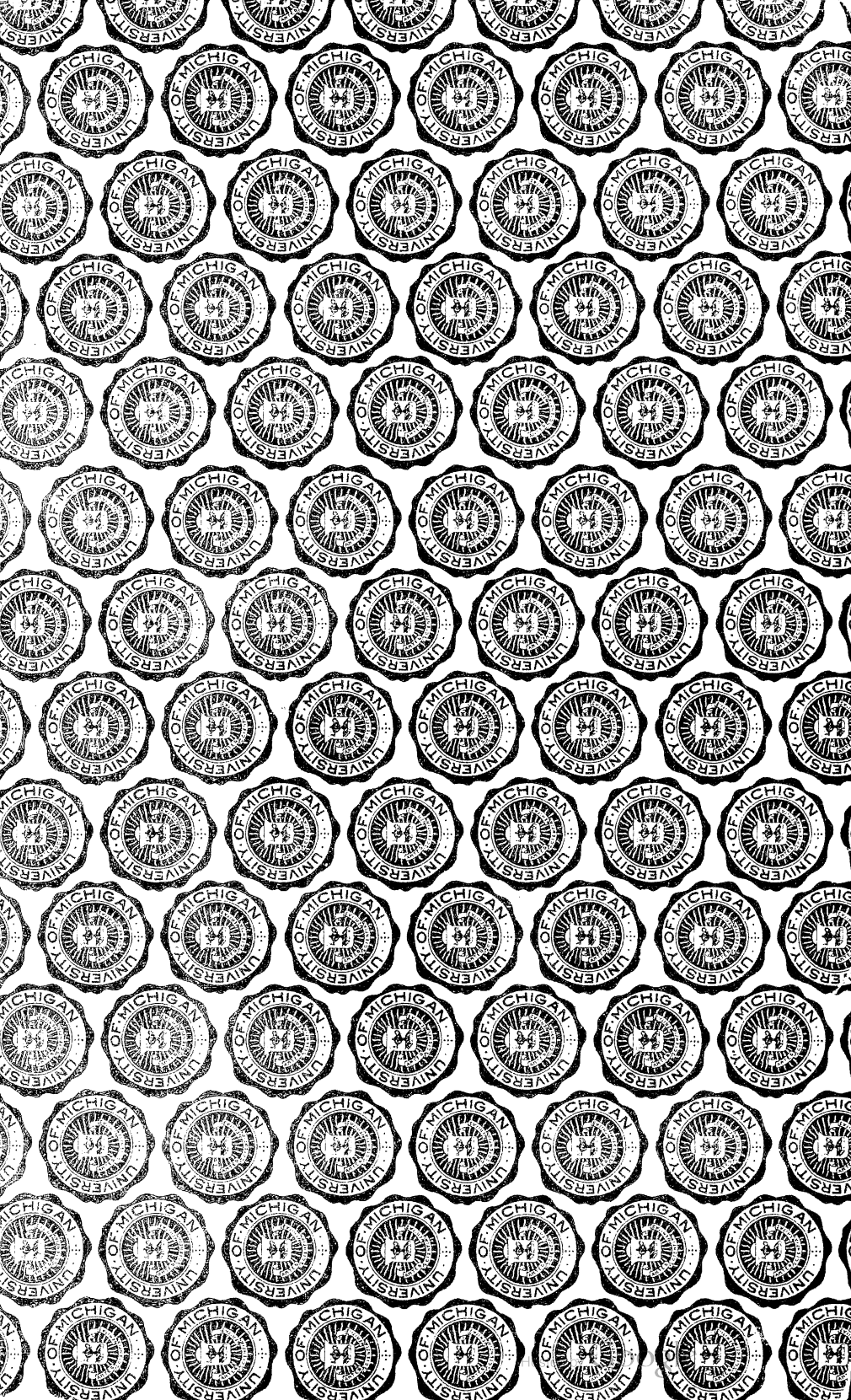


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MILTON AND THE CONJECTURA CABBALISTICA

By MARJORIE H. NICOLSON
Smith College

Professor Denis Saurat, in his *Milton: Man and Thinker*, has raised the question of Milton's debt to the Cabbala, and has concluded that "roughly speaking, the whole of Milton's philosophy is found in the Kabbalah."¹ There may well be a question whether the particular passages and ideas which he cites justify the sweeping breadth of his assertion; the important influence of the Cabbala is seldom to be found in actual verbal analogies, though many seventeenth-century writers exhibit such analogies. Yet no student of Milton who reads at all widely in cabbalistic and semi-cabbalistic writers will deny that Milton, like many of his contemporaries, accepted important doctrines of cabbalism as he accepted doctrines of neo-Platonism. Cabbalism as a form of thought permeates much seventeenth-century literature; it is as impossible to separate it sharply from other ideas of a particular author as it is to define exactly the particular brand of Platonism he held. By the seventeenth century, cabbalism had become so fused and intermingled with other ways of thinking that we look for it less in defined doctrine and creed than in an attitude toward a question. The chief error made by contemporary scholarship in regard to it lies in the assumption that it was something secretive, mystic, questionable—a sort of Rosicrucianism; that it dealt largely in magic; and that its followers were ridiculed. Nothing could be farther from the truth. It is probably no exaggeration to say that any seventeenth-century Platonist was to some extent a cabbalist; certainly the Cambridge Platonists, leaders of Platonic thought, were admittedly so; the chief scientists of the day—notably Boyle and

¹ Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker*, Dial Press, New York, 1925, p. 280.

Newton—held the doctrines in profound respect. There is nothing strange, therefore, in the fact that traces of cabbalism are evident in *Paradise Lost*; it would be strange, rather, if Milton had not shared this contemporary interest.

The present study is one of a series in which the author attempts to formulate some of the main currents in Milton's philosophical and theological thought in order to arrive at a conclusion in regard to some disputed points.² In this paper, the attempt is threefold: to suggest a reason for the profound interest in cabbalism during the seventeenth century; to discuss in detail an English version of the Cabbala, popular during the years in which Milton was most concerned with the subjects treated in *Paradise Lost*; and to present a comparison between the *Conjectura Cabbalistica* and *Paradise Lost*, less with a desire to establish actual borrowing on the part of Milton than to indicate typically cabbalistic strains in *Paradise Lost*.

I.

The Cabbala seems first to have been made known to Christians by Raymond Lully in the early fourteenth century, though it had had a long and complicated history before that time. Contemporary scholarship holds that the doctrines of the Cabbala were derived ultimately—apart from its conventional Hebraism—from Philo Judæus, from neo-Platonism, and from neo-Pythagoreanism. Small wonder that, during the Renaissance, when the influence of the Pythagoreans, of Philo, and of Plotinus was at its height, theologians who discovered the cabbalistic writings should have been profoundly impressed by the similarities between these doctrines and their own.

Of all the cabbalas—and many writers distinguish nine or ten before the thirteenth century—the one of chief importance to the student of literature is the *Zohar*; here the important earlier ideas are crystallized, and to some extent made harmonious if not entirely consistent. Here we may find the "system" of the Cabbala, if that term may be applied to a medley of ideas. The *Zohar* treats of cosmology, anthropology, and theology. It lays down the doctrine of the Sephiroth, which had long before become an integral part of cabbalism: the En Soph, primary cause of all things, is

² "The Spirit World of Milton and More," *Studies in Philology*, XXII (1925), 433-453; "Milton and Hobbes," *Studies in Philology*, October, 1926.

both immanent and transcendent; from him have emanated the Sephiroth—emanations, not creations—by means of which the En Soph makes his attributes known to finite humanity. The theory at bottom is little more than a variant of the neo-Platonic idea of grades of wisdom, an attempt to reconcile the ideas of transcendence and immanence of the creator, who is in this way constantly present through his attributes, though he himself remains aloof, and an attempt also to surmount the difficulty of the creation *ex nihilo*. Among the other doctrines of the *Zohar*, of which we shall see more, are the theory of *sygyzies*, or pairs of opposites, expressing at once opposition and reconciliation; the “retraction” or limitation through concentration of deity, who withdraws himself in order that creation may take place; metempsychosis; the idea of microcosm-macrocosm; and the conception of evil as the “left side” of the *sygyzy*. As the chief aim of man is union with the Divine, sin, according to the *Zohar*, consists in the separation of man from the divine, through which separation rises the possibility of sin.

The important link between cabbalism and Christianity may be found in Pico della Mirandola who, more than anyone else, is responsible for the great interest in the subject during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Discovering in the Cabbala, as it seemed to him, more Christianity than Hebraism, Pico published in 1486 his nine hundred theses in which he undertook to prove that the Cabbala proved the truths of Christianity; he then set himself to translate the Cabbala into Latin. In the attitude of Pico may be found the first explanation for the acceptance of the Cabbala by many of the most highly trained theologians of the seventeenth century. With their lack of historical perspective, they could not know that the startling resemblances between the doctrines of the Cabbala and those of Christianity were the result of the common influence on both of neo-Platonism. To them the Cabbala was what its disciples believed it to be: a traditional interpretation of the theory of creation as it had been told to Moses by God. It is not strange that, at a time when the Reformation had set men to studying the text of the Bible for themselves, they should have welcomed this ancient explanation of many of their difficulties. As we shall see, however, there was an even more immediate need which the Cabbala promised to satisfy.

Pico was followed by Reuchlin, who in 1494 published his *De*

Verbo Mirifico, in which he sought to prove that all wisdom and all philosophy are derived from the Hebrew, and that all the essential doctrines of Christianity are to be found in the Cabbala. In 1516 he followed this with his *De Arte Cabbalistica*, the influence of which was both immediate and far-reaching; the cabbalistic doctrines spread to Spain, to Palestine, to England.

The chief influence in England occurred during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. When it did come, it came with great effect; the time was ripe for it. Not only did it offer to these theologians, as to Pico, an interpretation of many of the disputed points in religious dogma, but, more important still, it offered to a group, already feeling the confusion and doubt caused by new theories, *a means of reconciling religion and the new science*. This is its chief importance in seventeenth-century thought. As in the nineteenth century, the implications of scientific theories were threatening orthodox religious thought; there was a steadily growing tendency to atheism. The attitude toward Descartes is indicative of the usual point of view. The Cartesian philosophy was popularized in England largely by a group of Cambridge theologians; chief among whom was Henry More, who, when he first introduced Descartes to an English audience, did so because it seemed to him that Cartesianism offered a way of thought which was, if not essential to, at least in keeping with the new scientific outlook of the century, and which, at the same time, did not contradict orthodox beliefs, but, properly interpreted, confirmed them. As he continued to study the system, however, More came to feel more and more disturbed at the Cartesian mechanism, which he had at first discounted; for a time he refused to believe that Descartes himself accepted the implications of his mechanism, and when he at last regretfully accepted the fact, he promptly set about formulating some theory which would keep what were to him the essentials of Cartesianism, and at the same time offer an antidote to the mechanism. More was too keenly interested in the new science to be content with a theology which was contradicted by experiment; yet he was too devout a Christian to consider for a moment a completely mechanical explanation of the universe. The antidote he, in common with others of his generation, found in cabbalism, with the result that his mature philosophy is a mingling of neo-Platonism, Cartesianism, and cabbalism.

II.

Professor Saurat, in his study of the influence on Milton of the Cabbala, says, in speaking of the seventeenth-century English treatises on the subject: "Last of all Henry More, who belonged to the same Cambridge college as Milton, published in 1654 in London, his work on the Kabbalah."³ The work to which Saurat refers is the *Conjectura Cabbalistica, or a Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Minde of Moses, according to a Threefold Cabbala, viz., Literal, Philosophical, Mystical or Divinely Moral*. One of the most important of the English cabbalistic publications, this was a work of great popularity in its day.

It may be well to see first what More's work was supposed to be. It was no such compendium of tradition as was the *Zohar*; More made no attempt to go off into the different directions in which cabbalism may lead. He limited himself to one field of inquiry. The text of his Cabbala occupies only seventy-seven pages in the little volume in which it is published. It is divided into three parts, as the titles suggest, each part constituting a restatement in other words of the first three chapters of *Genesis*, the first being the "literal" Cabbala, the second the "philosophical," the third the "mystical or divinely moral."

From the dedication to his friend Ralph Cudworth, and from the preface, we learn what More purposed. He hastens to assure us that he does not pretend that this is the true Cabbala—in the validity of which he himself had no doubt. This is a mere *conjecture*, an attempt to suggest a way of thinking which may be of service to some whose minds are confused. As the true Cabbala reconciled orthodox theology with philosophical speculation, this conjecture may suggest a reconciliation for his age; but there was more than "philosophy" which was causing doubt in the seventeenth century. The reader recognizes in the pages that follow a strangely "modern" ring; this might be a Tennyson, suggesting a semi-poetical, semi-philosophical reconciliation of science and religion in terms of his own generation. There are many, More says,

³ *Milton: Man and Thinker*, p. 281. The first edition of More's work appeared in 1653; I find no record of an edition in 1654; a second edition was published in 1662 in More's *Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*; a third in 1679 in *Opera Omnia*; a fourth in 1713 in the fourth edition of the *Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*. My references are to the first edition.

whose reason refuses to accept the literal interpretation of the first chapters of *Genesis*; are they to refuse to follow Reason? More would never acknowledge this. "To exclude the Reason in the search of divine Truth," he says, "is no dictate of the Spirit, but of headstrong melancholy and blinde Enthusiasme." He continues with a panegyric in praise of Reason, "a principle that we must acknowledge in some sort to be in God himself." The Reason of man must be left free to inquire wherever it leads him, and if it leads him to the Scriptures, well and good. But More was essentially a man of deep religious spirit; real scepticism was not possible for him. The Scriptures, which are the word of God, are true; yet Reason also must be true. Thus we must find some way in which the Reason may interpret parts of the Scriptures which at first seem incompatible with it. What, we may ask, did More and his contemporaries find in the first three chapters of *Genesis* which seemed to them incompatible with Reason? Himself one of the early members of the Royal Society, More was an important figure in the history of the scientific advance of his generation.⁴ On the surface, More declares, the Scriptures seem to take no account of what he and his associates held to be the true astronomy, the Copernican; the anthropomorphic conception of God implied in *Genesis* was too naive for the acceptance of these theologians and metaphysicians; the ideas of time and space were completely unscientific; finally, the primitive ethical principles of these first three chapters could not be convincing to men who had spent their lives in the study of the great ethical systems of the past.

On the one hand, then, More, like many of his contemporaries, was an orthodox theologian; on the other, he was a man of broad learning and of great scientific interest; the conflict is apparent. He could not accept literally a religion which seemed to him contradicted by the philosophy he had so painstakingly developed from traditional modes of thought; he could not cast aside a religion in whose revelation he believed. The more he studied, the more he became aware that "all religions are implicit in any religion"; with the inverted historic sense of his generation, when he saw similarities between Platonism and Christianity, Hebraism and neo-Platonism, only one conclusion was possible: since Christianity

⁴ Cf. Edwin A. Burtt, *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, New York, 1925, particularly pp. 127-144.

could not merely have developed out of Platonism, Platonism must have been another manifestation of Hebraism. Thus More reached the conclusion of Numenius, that Plato was "Moses Atticus," and that God had manifested himself in the world three times—in the law of Moses, the philosophy of Plato, the life of Christ. Reduce them to their essentials and they are one.

We shall find no clearer statement of the belief of the religious scientist of that time than More's, in this preface, when he says that the conclusions in the book are "plainly answerable to *the phenomena of Nature and the attributes of God*"—an equal emphasis upon religious belief and scientific validity; and his conclusion that, as "the discovery of these weighty truths and high, does assert religion and vindicate her from that vile imputation of ignorance in philosophy and the knowledge of things, so does it also justify those more noble results of free Reason and Philosophy from that vulgar suspicion of impiety and irreligion." More attempts, therefore, to interpret the first chapters of *Genesis* in such way as to show them consistent both with the experimental results of contemporary science, and with the lofty ethical system which he had formulated for his generation. Apart from its possible relation to *Paradise Lost*, this interpretation is of great importance because it was the interpretation accepted by More's pupil's pupil, Isaac Newton, who, first in the Grantham Grammar School, later at Cambridge, looked upon More as the greatest ethical teacher of the day.

More's first question in the *Conjectura Cabbalistica* is: Can the story of *Genesis* be accepted literally? His answer is definite. It not only *can* be; it *must* be by those whose minds are not yet ready to go beyond the literal interpretation. As Christ in his parables spoke to a simple people, yet implied truths of deepest ethical import, so God spoke through Moses "accommodately to the apprehension of the meanest, not speaking of things according to their very essence and real nature, but according to their appearance to us, not starting of high and intricate questions, and concluding them by subtile arguments, but familiarly and condescendingly setting out the creation, according to the most easie and obvious conceits they themselves had of those things they saw in the world." More's "literal" Cabbala is therefore a simple retelling of the story of the creation and of the fall; the language implies no ambiguity.

The serpent is a real serpent, Adam and Eve simply the first parents, the Tree and Fruit literally tree and fruit. The conception of God is a simple anthropomorphic one, since, as More says, it is impossible for unprepared minds to grasp abstract notions of deity.

The "philosophic" Cabbala is a different thing. More says:

The argument of these three chapters being so philosophical as it is, it seems unworthy of that knowing spirit of Moses, or of Religion itself, that he should not contrive under the external contexture of this narration, some very singular and choice theorems of natural philosophy and metaphysics; which his pious and learned successors should be able by some secret traditional doctrine or cabbala to apply to his outward text.⁵

After a Pythagorean interpretation of the creation of the world, in which he offers a mystical explanation of the meaning of each number, More proceeds to his philosophical interpretation of the creation and the fall of man. The details we shall consider later; at present it will be sufficient to say that he reads into the account a triple meaning; all may be understood, he says, philosophically, morally, or politically. Here, he declares, the readers will not be asked to conceive Moses as

tasking God to his six days labour, or bounding the world at the clouds, or making the moon bigger than the stars, or numbring days without suns, or bringing in a serpent talking with a woman. . . . But they shall find him more large and more free than any, and laying down such conclusions as the wisest naturalist and theosophers in all ages have looked upon as the choicest and most precious.⁶

The creation of man, in the Philosophic Cabbala does not consist in the making of flesh and blood by an anthropomorphic God; creation is a spiritual process, the likeness of man to God consisting in the "soul of man that is so free, so rational, and so intellectual." The literal Garden of Eden is to More mere "enigmatical narration." The true meaning, he says, is that Adam was first wholly ethereal, and placed in Paradise, that is, "in an happy and joyful condition of the Spirit." His casting out of Paradise is thus a descent from an "aerial" to a "terrestrial" world, an idea which it will be remembered is expressed by Milton's Eve, when she cries out:

⁵ P. 105.

⁶ P. 137.

How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower world, to this obscure
 And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
 Less pure?⁷

True to cabbalistic tradition, More distinguishes in primordial man two qualities, active and passive, masculine and feminine. Only literally are Adam and Eve first man and first woman; philosophically they are two aspects of human nature. The "perfect and masculine Adam" consists in "pure subtile intellectual knowledge"; but there is another aspect to human nature. This other faculty, More says, may at first seem inferior, "yet it is far from being contemptible, it being both good for itself and convenient for this terrestrial world."⁸ These two capacities are the Reason and the instinct, or, in another sense, the will. More's insistence that the instincts, though inferior to the Reason, are not evil, but good and useful, is a characteristic one. Historically considered, an important part of More's ethics is his insistence upon the fundamental goodness of the passions; his departure from the more strictly Platonic view is to be traced to his interest in cabbalism. The "feminine" nature in man, therefore, is instinct or will, "a faculty of being united with vital joy and complacency to the matter."⁹ The true relation between these faculties consists in the harmonious regulation of the instincts and will by Reason; if this order is violated, chaos results.

It is just such chaos that More depicts in his philosophical interpretation of the Fall. The serpent—now an evil spirit "the very ringleader of the rebellion against God and the divine light"—cunningly assaults Adam, using devices calculated to tempt his feminine nature, his instinct. So successful is he that the instinct of man overcomes his reason, and he follows will, thus withdrawing himself from God, who is Supreme Reason. The expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden now becomes a descent from the world of the spirit in which he was originally created, to the terrestrial world of man in which we find ourselves.

So much for the outlines of the "philosophic" Cabbala. Interpretation of much the same sort characterizes the "Moral Cabbala," with the difference that whereas the second book is mainly meta-

⁷ *Paradise Lost*, XI. 282-5.

⁸ P. 41.

⁹ *Ibid.*

physical, the third is almost entirely ethical. Its purpose, as More says, is to look upon man as a microcosm, in which are operating two principles "Heaven and Earth, Divinity and Animality, Spirit and Flesh."¹⁰ Now the story of creation becomes an allegory of the warring of animal and spiritual elements, the tumultuous animal passions at first operating until they are finally called into order by the spiritual. All the works of the days have reference to the gradual emergence out of chaos of man's rationality.

The creation of man constitutes the creation of a microcosm, a little world in which the reason of man is as truly commander, if he will, as God is ruler over the frame of the universe. Man is again shown as composed of male and female aspects, in a "clear and free understanding" and "divine affection." The Paradise on earth consists in that perfect state in which both these capacities function to their fullest extent, yet both remain in harmonious equilibrium. The account of the creation of woman, according to the "moral" Cabbala, makes the point more clear. For all his Renaissance love of knowledge, More did not hold that the intellect alone constitutes complete man; the feminine qualities which God adds to the intellectual are "the kindly flowering joy or harmless delight of the natural health of the body." Morally, the serpent represents the "inordinate desire of pleasure" which attacks humanity upon the feminine side of its nature, and which persuades man to follow the desire for pleasure rather than Reason. Thus, at the conclusion of the "moral" Cabbala, Adam is driven from Eden into a world in which he must work out for himself the harmonious relation between the faculties of his nature, before he can hope again to dwell in Paradise.

III.

Since the modern reader is more interested in Milton's relation to cabbalism than More's, we shall leave out of consideration many interesting and important ideas peculiar to More, and attempt merely to suggest points of view which are common to the two writers.

The general material of the two is, of course, the same, and their attitude toward that material is similar; each seeks to interpret the first three chapters of *Genesis* in such a way as to make the story

¹⁰ P. 53.

consistent with his own highly developed ethics. Both deal primarily with biblical material, and both, at least in parts of their work, present that material "literally"—in More's meaning of the term. The actual foreground of the story of *Paradise Lost* corresponds to a literal cabbala; Milton himself, it is safe to say, did not believe in an anthropomorphic deity seated on a throne, nor in a Second Cause with golden compasses; he did not expect his readers to accept without reservation his pictures of Pandemonium, of the walls of Hell, of the golden chain with its "pendent World." Like More, he must speak "accommodately to the apprehension of the meanest," yet at the same time he too deals with matter of the deepest complexity; he too utters unutterable things. He felt the difficulty keenly, as he suggests again and again in the responses of the angelic messengers to Adam; human words cannot express, they say, and human understandings cannot grasp the real meanings of these heavenly things; what surmounts the reach of human sense they must delineate by "likening spiritual to corporal forms." In Milton, as in More, there is, besides the literal story, a philosophical interpretation: his ontology, his ethics, his metaphysics, his psychology, and his politics all play an important part; and there is a "mystical or divinely moral" interpretation, to Milton as to More most important of all. But these, of course, are the merest generalities, which bear no necessary relation to cabbalism. We may consider therefore, in turn, the three important aspects of the story in *Genesis* with which the two authors deal: the creation of the universe, the creation and nature of man, and the fall of man.

In the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* Milton definitely takes his stand against the creation *ex nihilo*. The world must have been framed out of matter of some kind, "since no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter . . . because it was necessary that something should previously have existed, capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy."¹¹ When, however, Milton approaches the origin of matter, he is faced with a dilemma: matter cannot have existed independent of God from all eternity; hence it is difficult to see whence it derives its origin. The only solution is that "all things are of God." The implication in Milton is fundamentally the same as that in the cabbalistic writers; the explanation they offer is that the original

¹¹ *Prose Works*, London, 1889, IV, 177 ff.

En Soph contained in himself all other things; from him emanated the other Sephiroth, which were the origin of both the universe and man. With the cabbalists, Milton feels the impossibility of the eternal existence of matter, yet with them too, he attempts to avoid the fallacy of the creation by an active principle without a passive recipient. The similarity here is rather between Milton and the orthodox cabbalists; More's own account differs in many ways.

When we consider the nature of original matter, we find a closer parallel between Milton and More. In *Paradise Lost* we may dismiss as unessential much of the "myth" of Chaos and old Night. We find, then, that original matter is pictured by Milton as a formless mass. It is called at various times: "vast Abyss" (I.21); "void and formless infinite" (III.12); "the world's material mould," "vast infinitude" (III.711); "chaos wild" (V.577); "materials dark and crude" (VI.478). The process of creation consists in the impregnation and ordering of this passive formless agent by God, either through his Spirit or through his Reason. Thus we have the whole account of the creation by Christ, and such passages as these:

Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dovelike satst brooding on the vast Abyss,
And madst it pregnant. (I.19)

Before the Sun,
Before the heavens thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep
Won from the void and formless infinite. (III.8)

Uriel says:

I saw when at his voice the formless mass,
This world's material mould came to a heap. (III.708)

Raphael speaks of the time when

Darkness profound
Covered th' Abyss, but on the watry calm,
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread
And vital virtue infused and vital warmth. (VII.233)

With these we may compare More's account of creation, according to the Philosophic Cabbala:

And this Earth was nothing but solitude and emptiness and it was a deep bottomless capacity of being what ever God thought good to make out of it, that implied no contradiction to be made. And there being a possibility of

creating things after sundry and manifold manners, nothing was yet determined, but this vast Capability of things was unsettled, fluid, and of it self undeterminable as water; but the Spirit of God, who was the vehicle of the Eternal wisdom, and of the super-essential Goodnesse, by a swift forecast of counsel and discourse of Reason truly divine, such as at once strikes through all things and discerns what is best to be done, having hover'd a while over all the capacities of these fluid possibilities, forthwith settled upon what was the most perfect and exact.¹²

To both authors the state of matter originally is the same. The particular passage just quoted from More leads, to be sure, to more important conclusions than do the Miltonic passages, though More's implications may be found also in Milton. More is here following the characteristic argument of Thomas Aquinas: creation is an act of Reason not of arbitrary Will; the Reason of God, pondering on the material of the universe, brings out of it what is best; potentiality already exists in the material; God may create whatever seems best to his Reason, as long as that creation implies no contradiction. On this most fundamental of the scholastic problems which in the seventeenth century marked one of the most important lines of divergence between theologians, Milton is at one with More. Milton, too, holds that the *nature* of a thing is eternally in the thing; creation is an act not of Will but of Reason; God chooses from the potentialities what is best; but he cannot create contradictions.¹³

An equally significant point is the insistence of both More and Milton upon the fundamental goodness of original matter, as upon that of the instincts and passions of man. Original matter cannot be in its nature evil, says Milton, because it is of God;¹⁴ it is, however, in its nature imperfect, that is, it requires the active principle before it can truly exist; it receives, says Milton, in Aristotelian language, "embellishment from the accession of forms." As the cabbalists agree, matter is the passive principle requiring for existence the active principle. Like the cabbalists, and unlike the orthodox Platonists, Milton and More both hold that the passive principle implies nothing inherently evil; at most its limitation consists merely in a *lack*.

After their discussion of the creation of the universe, both writers discuss the creation of man. To both, likeness to God consists in

¹² P. 23.

¹³ I have discussed this point in detail in an article, "Milton and Hobbes," in the October number of *Studies in Philology*. Milton's agreement with More is very significant, but is too complex a subject to be discussed in detail here.

¹⁴ Cf. the discussion in *T. C. D.* I. 180.

spiritual similarity; the quality which principally distinguishes deity and man is the possession of *reason*, and the relation between body and soul is not, as many of their contemporaries held, a supplementary one; the two are complementary, one active, the other passive. Thus More says:

He therefore made man in his own image, after his own likeness. For after he had prepared the matter fit for so noble a guest as a humane soul, the world of life was forced to let go what the rightly prepared matter so justly called for. And man appeared upon the stage of the earth, Lord of all living creatures. For it was just that he that bears the image of the invisible God, should be the supreme monarch of this visible world. And what can be more like God than the soul of man, that is so free, so rational, and so intellectual as it is? And he is not the lesse like him now that he is united to the terrestrial body, his soul or spirit possessing and striking through a compendious collection of all kinds of corporal matter and managing it, with his understanding free to think of other things, even as God vivificates and actuates the whole world, being yet wholly free to contemplate himself.¹⁵

And in his discussion of the creation, More says:

Thus therefore was the immaterial Creature perfectly finisht, being an inexhaustible Treasury of Light and Form, for the garnishing and consummating the material world, to afford a Morning or Active principle to every passive one, in the future parts of the corporal creature. But in the first days work . . . the Morning and Evening are purely metaphysical; for the active and passive principles here are not two distinct substances, the one material, the other spiritual, but the passive principle is matter merely metaphysical, and is indeed no real or actual entity.¹⁶

Milton, in his discussion of the creation of man, says:

Man having been created, after this manner, it is said as a consequence that *man became a living soul* whence it may be inferred . . . that man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and separate natures, as of soul and body, but that the whole man is soul and the soul man, that is to say, a body or substance individual, animated, sensitive, or rational; and that the breath of life was neither a part of the divine essence, nor the soul itself, but as it were an inspiration of some divine virtue fitted for the exercise of life and reason, and fused into the organic body; for man himself, the whole man, when finally created, is called in express terms *a living soul*.¹⁷

Although both authors hold the unity of soul and body as essential, they carry the idea to different conclusions, Milton holding, at least for some important years, the theory of the Mortalists:¹⁸ if soul and body are one, the soul must inevitably die with the body. More, faced with the same problem, reached the opposite conclusion,

¹⁵ *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, p. 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁷ *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, I. 187.

¹⁸ Cf. Saurat, pp. 310 ff.

holding that neither soul nor body dies, but that death consists merely in passage to another sphere of being, for to More "there is a triple vital congruity in the soul, namely, aethereal, aerial, terrestrial."¹⁹ Hence man passes from one stage to another, the soul, "a substance extended and indiscerptible" possessing always a vehicle, and never being annihilated.²⁰

More significant is the similarity between the two in their interpretation of the "masculine" and "feminine" qualities in original man. Professor Saurat has pointed out²¹ that Milton's attitude toward woman is much the same as that implied in the *Zohar*. Man without woman is an incomplete being. In the *Zohar* woman is shown as naturally inferior to man, since she is the passive, he the active principle in the universe. Yet at the same time—and Professor Saurat comments on this as more or less paradoxical—"quite a special dignity is given to woman in many passages." If the significance of the cabbalistic insistence upon the active and passive principles be understood, it will be seen that there is no paradox here; in cabbalistic treatises the active and passive principles are held always to be mutually necessary. More in his *Conjectura* simply follows cabbalistic tradition in his constant insistence upon this; the second principle, whether it be instinct as distinct from reason, matter as distinct from spirit, feminine as distinct from masculine, is inferior only in the sense that without the first principle it is not capable of true existence, whereas the first principle, though capable of existence without the second, is not capable of completion. Thus More stresses spirit, reason, and man, first as *creative*, then as *regulative* principles; but he repeats again and again that the second principle is not only good in itself, but is the means of the full expression and enjoyment of the first. "The wisdom of God," he says, "saw that it was not good for the soul of man, that the masculine powers thereof should thus operate alone, but that all the faculties of life should be set afloat, that the

¹⁹ *Immortality of the Soul*, in *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, Fourth Edition, London, 1712, Book iii, pp. 158 ff. Cf. on this general subject, "The Spirit World of Milton and More," *Studies in Philology*, XXII (1925), pp. 433 ff.

²⁰ Another important dissimilarity between Milton and More is to be seen in their attitude toward the doctrine of the preëxistence of souls, a doctrine firmly held by More, rejected, as philosophy, by Milton, though he nevertheless implies it poetically in *Paradise Lost*.

²¹ P. 296.

whole human nature might be accomlisht with the divine." This is clearly akin to Milton's idea of the relation between man and woman; they are not by nature equal; he is formed for contemplation—he is the intellectual, the rational principle; she is formed for "softness and sweet attractive grace." Adam recognizes that she is inferior in nature, yet before the Fall he cannot praise her too highly; the feminine is to him as to More's Adam, the "kindly flowering or harmlesse delight of the natural life and health of the body."

The conception of what constitutes the fall of man rises inevitably from this conception of the natural relation between the active and the passive principles. The instrument of temptation in both accounts is the serpent, but although both of them—More in the "literal" Cabbala, Milton in the scene in the Garden of Eden—picture the tempter as literally in the body of the serpent, both interpret the serpent also philosophically and morally; both declare that he was Satan, leader of the rebel angels, and they agree, moreover, here and elsewhere in regard to what constitutes the highest possible evil. "To do mischief for mischief's sake," says More, when he is discussing the nature of evil spirits, "is so excessive an enormity that some doubt whether it be competible to any intellectual being."²² Milton's Satan himself declares that the aspect of his nature which makes him devil is the constant attempt to bring evil out of good for the sake of evil. In the *Conjectura*, More speaks of the rebel angels as beasts of the field, and says that they contracted their bestiality by their own rebellion. "For everything that hath sense and understanding in it and wants the divine life in the judgment of all wise and good men is truly a beast."²³

The closest similarity between the two works occurs in the temptation scene. Satan is, in the *Conjectura Cabbalistica* as in *Paradise Lost*, a subtle psychologist and logician, appealing to Eve with arguments designed to tempt the "feminine Adam," and at the same time, with the tongue of Belial, dealing in casuistry. Says Milton:

The Tempter guilefully replied:
 "Indeed! Hath God then said that of the fruit
 Of all these garden-trees ye shall not eat,
 Yet Lords declared of all in each or air?" (IX.655)

²² *Immortality of the Soul*, p. 171.

²³ P. 45.

More's Satan inquires of the "feminized Adam": "Why are you so demure and what makes you so bound up in spirit? Is it so indeed that God has confined you and taken away your liberty, and forbidden you all things that you take pleasure in?" The passage which follows offers not only remarkable similarity in argument, but also a striking verbal parallel, implying, if not direct borrowing on the part of Milton, at least a common source. Milton's Satan says:

Why, then, was this forbid? *Why but to awe?*
 Why but *to keep ye low and ignorant*
 His worshipers? *He knows that in the day*
Ye eat thereof your eyes that seem so clear
 Yet are but dim, *shall perfectly be then*
Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as gods,
*Knowing both good and evil, as they know.*²⁴

More's serpent declares:

God indeed loves to keep his creatures *in awe*, and to hold them in from *ranging too farre ad reaching too high*; but he knows very well that if you take but your liberty with us, and satiate your selves freely with your own will, *your eyes will be wonderfully opened*, and you will meet with a world of variety of experiments in things, so that you will grow abundantly wise, and *like God know all things whatsoever whether good or evil.*²⁵

The significance of the fall is the same to both writers, agreeing as they do in ethics and psychology. Since the natural relation between the masculine and the feminine natures is one in which both natures may be developed to the full, yet in which the rational must always regulate the instinctive, any reversal of these relations must result in chaos. To both More and Milton, the ethical import of the fall is that man followed his instincts and will, not his reason. Will succumbs to appetite, reason to will; More says: "The concupiscible . . . snatcht away with it Adams will." And again: "His fleshy concupiscence began to be so strong that it carried the assent

²⁴ P. L. IX. 703 ff. The italics in both passages are mine.

²⁵ P. 46. More's note on this passage offers a significant Renaissance point of view in regard to wisdom. He declares that the sort of knowledge which God did not permit to Adam was merely knowledge of the flesh, not knowledge of the mind. He insists that God could never have prohibited man's seeking the meaning of the works of nature, of geometry and arithmetic, of natural philosophy, and suggests sagely that there are, after all, so few in the world who are likely to be carried away by such knowledge that God could never have made a blanket prohibition of it! What God prohibited was "not those innocuous and noble accomplishments of the understanding of man, but it was the knowledge of the world and the wisdom of the flesh." Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* (Ellis, Spedding, ed. 1905, J. M. Robertson), p. 44, for the same idea.

of his will away with it, and the whole man became a lawlesse and unruly creature.''²⁶ Milton's idea is the same:

For Understanding ruled not, and the Will
Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
To sensual appetite.²⁷

Finally, true to Renaissance tradition, neither author permits his actors to pass from the stage without a suggestion that the punishment, harsh as it was, was not without its mitigating circumstances. More's Adam declares that "the feminine part in him, though it had seduced him, yet there was some use of this mis-carriage, for the earth would henceforth be inhabited by intellectual Animals."²⁸ "So Adam," says More in his note, "here utters his Apologetical Prophecie, that this change of his, and departure from this present state, though it may prove ill for himself, yet it has its use and convenience, and that it is better for the universe; for he shall live upon earth and be a ruler there amongst the terrestrial creatures, and help to order and govern that part of the world."²⁹ "Full of doubt I stand," says Milton's Adam after the revelation of the future,

Whether I should repent me now of sin,
By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
Much more that much more good thereof shall spring.³⁰

Both Milton and More were too characteristically sons of the Renaissance to feel that the fruit of the tree of knowledge could ever be entirely bitter. At the end of their tales, both show their characters driven from Eden, to be sure, yet in each case one feels that that life in Eden, innocent, blameless, was somehow a narrow life and a limited one, and that the struggle upon earth was not to be without its compensations; neither allows us to forget that in both instances "the world was all before them where to choose."

²⁶ P. 46.

²⁷ IX. 1127.

²⁸ P. 50.

²⁹ P. 180.

³⁰ XII. 473.

PRECIOSITY IN CORNEILLE'S EARLY PLAYS

By G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK
Columbia University

Corneille's early plays, *Mélite*, *Clitandre*, *La Galerie du Palais*, *La Suivante*, etc., are love-imbroglios and, as such, are sprinkled with the flowery compliments which adorned the wooing of refined lovers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when love-making seemed to be a game of wit. Corneille's work from 1630 to 1637, and even his tragedies, glitter here and there with pretentious conceits. The best known is the address of Pymante to Dorise's hairpin, with which this tender-hearted lady has just destroyed his eye:

Bourreau qui, secondant son courage inhumain,
Au lieu d'orner son poil, déshonorez sa main,
Exécration instrument de sa brutale rage,
Tu devois pour le moins respecter son image:
Ce portrait accompli d'un chef-d'œuvre des cieux,
Imprimé dans mon cœur, exprimé dans mes yeux, . . .

I propose here to examine the following questions concerning preciosity in Corneille's early plays: Are these passages a direct copy of the language of the *précieux*, an echo of the compliments which were the delight of the Parisian *salons* of the time? Was the style of Corneille's early plays typically *précieux*? Or was it simpler and saner than the typical style of the first decades of the seventeenth century? Was Corneille's attitude toward preciosity sympathetic?

Historians of literature generally hold that Corneille copied the *précieux* expressions of his heroes directly from living models. It is said that in his early years he was in sympathy with them and naïvely depicted their manners and their affected phrases. As a consequence of this conception, the style of his early plays is said to be more complicated and extravagant than the prevalent literature of the times. Lottheissen states that Corneille imitated the affected speech which he could hear in Rouen, his native city: "Corneille versucht es ein Bild der Französischen Gesellschaft zu geben und lässt seine Personen reden, wie er sie in seinem Kreise wirklich sich unterhalten hörte."¹ For F. Brunetière, the *préciosité* in the

¹ *Gesch. Fr. Lit. im 17ten Jahrh.*, Vol. I, p. 223.

early plays is an imitation of the artificial compliments current in the Parisian drawing rooms: "Il tient à bon droit, dans le grand *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* de Bodeau de Somaize, une place d'honneur et il y est appelé 'le plus grand homme qui ait jamais écrit des jeux de cirque'. C'est la note juste; et que l'on l'étudie dans les comédies de sa jeunesse: *Mélite*, *La Veuve*, *La Galerie du Palais*, ou dans les chefs d'œuvre de sa maturité, la plus grande préoccupation de Corneille a été de gagner le suffrage des précieuses."² And he adds: "La galanterie dans les comédies de Corneille . . . et qu'elle y est une parfaite imitation du langage des ruelles."³ Gustave Lanson is of the same opinion: "Dans les comédies de Corneille vit le grand monde du temps de Louis XIII. Ses originaux sont les précieux et c'est pour cela que le dialogue est précieux. Il l'est naïvement parce que c'est vrai . . . Ces honnêtes gens traitent l'amour comme on faisait dans les ruelles; et c'est pour cela qu'un reflet de *l'Astrée* éclaire leurs propos; c'est dans la vie que Corneille l' a saisi."⁴

The theory that Corneille gave in *Mélite* and some of his later plays an exact reproduction of the habitual language of the *Précieux*, that he noted it down from real life, finds its origin in a too literally interpreted passage of the *Examen de Mélite*, written in 1660. Speaking there about the success of the *Mélite*, Corneille says: ". . . le style naïf, qui faisoit une peinture de la conversation des honnêtes gens [fut] sans doute cause de ce bonheur surprenant." The expression "La conversation des honnêtes gens" has been taken as a synonym of "le langage des ruelles" of Paris, and this, in its turn, evoked naturally the idea of a complicated style, in which the whole play was supposed to be written.⁵

This conclusion, however, is in contradiction with the very words of Corneille in the same sentence, where he calls his manner "le style naïf." He clearly pointed to the fact that he wrote in simpler and less complicated style than the literary fashion of the time demanded. Other utterances of Corneille confirm this explanation. In the *Examen of Clitandre* he says about the *Mélite*: "J'entendis que ceux du métier la blamoient du peu d'effets et de ce que le style en étoit *trop familier*." And in the *Avis au Lecteur* of the *Mélite*

² *Epoques du Th. fr.*, p. 35.

³ *Hist. de la litt. fr.*, pp. 128-129.

⁴ *Corneille*, p. 51.

⁵ *Marty-Lav.*, Vol. I, p. 137.

he repeats, "Vu que ma façon d'écrire étant *simple et familière* fera prendre mes naïvetés pour des bassesses."

Among those who praised Corneille in the complimentary poems preceding the *Veuve*, some lay stress on his simplicity and naïveté:

Je vois que ton esprit unique de son art,
A des *naïvetés* plus belles que le fard,

said Rotrou, and du Petit-Val joins him in his eulogy:

Ce style *familier* non encore entrepris,
Ni connu de personne, a de si bonne grâce
Du théâtre françois changé la vieille face
Que la scène tragique en a perdu le prix.

Villeneuve congratulated him for avoiding the violent action and the exaggerations of the tragi-comedy:

Toi que le Parnasse idolâtre,
Et dont le vers doux et coulant
Ne fait point voir sur le théâtre
Les effets d'un bras violent. . . .⁶

The style of Corneille's early plays seemed then, at the time, not complicated and *précieux*, but simple and familiar. Corneille himself conceived it in this way; he was blamed for it by "ceux du métier" and praised by his friends. Yet—strange reversal of rôles!—he has been transformed by some historians into a typical exponent of preciosity and in our days his early style is cited as an example of intricacy!

Corneille states that he went to Paris to see his *Mélite* staged and that he there learned for the first time of the existence of the rules. He implies naturally that before the representation of his first play, in 1630, he did not come into contact with the literary circles of the Capital. After this visit to Paris, he returned to Rouen, and it was only considerably later that he became a regular guest of the Parisian *ruelles*.

At the time he wrote the *Mélite*, and even during the next few years, when his other early plays were composed, he had no occasion to study personally the manners and the fashionable speech of the Parisian *salons*. Yet it must be noticed that in the *Mélite* as much *préciosité* is found as in the *Veuve* or the *Galerie du Palais*. How could Corneille have noted, for dramatic purposes, the ordinary style of conversation in a society with which he was not acquainted? How could he have been the exponent of a refined speech with which he only came into contact later?

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

Could he have found his inspiration in Rouen, as Lottheissen suggests? Between 1620 and 1635 his native city was still largely provincial. Although important as a printing center and although interest in poetry was general, it remained socially outside of the contemporary preciosity current. In Corneille's youth it possessed no drawing-rooms where the provincial noblemen or the bourgeois of fortune could perform daily exercises in flowery conceits. Only decades later this fashion spread to the provincial *salons*. Corneille complained of the influence of the dialectical speech of Rouen upon his work: "Ainsi étant demeuré provincial, ce n'est pas merveille si mon élocution en conserve quelquefois le caractère."⁷ With regard to his verses he stated: "Je vous avouerai franchement que pour les vers, outre la foiblesse d'un homme qui commençoit à en faire, il est malaisé qu'ils ne sentent la province où je suis né."⁸

If then neither Paris nor Rouen supplied the young Corneille with examples of preciosity for his early plays, it must be assumed that he drew his inspiration from books. The *précieux* expressions in his early works are gleanings from his readings rather than observations of reality. He himself indicated the origin of his acquaintance with this literary jargon in the first scene of the *Mélite* where he calls it "*discours de livre*":

Ces visages d'éclat sont bons à cajoler;
C'est là qu'un jeune oiseau doit s'apprendre à parler.
J'aime à remplir de feux ma bouche en leur présence;
La mode nous oblige à cette complaisance;
Tous ces *discours de livre* alors sont de saison.

And in *La Veuve* he insists upon the bookish flavor of the *préciosité* put in the mouths of his personages. Géron says about the extravagant metaphors of one of the lovers:

C'est un homme tout neuf; que voulez-vous qu'il fasse?
Il dit ce qu'il a lu. . . .

Discours de livre! This expression seems, as far as Corneille is concerned, nearer the truth than the theory that he depicted, without any preceding literary examples, the manner and the speech of an upper layer of contemporary society. It is difficult, no doubt, to draw a sharp dividing line between preciosity in books and preciosity in society. If literature imitates life,—life mimics literature. In the early 17th century, for instance, the *honneste homme* bor-

⁷ *Oeuvres de Corneille*, ed. of 1644. Preface.

⁸ Marty-Lav., Vol. X. *Lettres*.

rowed far more from the *Astrée*, than the *Astrée* could borrow from him. Preciosity was essentially a literary attitude which was laboriously taught by books as much as by conversation. There is no reason for assuming that Corneille would have neglected books to hold up a mirror solely to real life. Rather than from personal observations of circles he did not know intimately, he drew his examples from contemporary fiction and verse.

There existed a number of manuals of preciosity, expounding the art of speaking in the style of the shepherds of d'Urfé. Some of them were printed at Rouen and may have been read by Corneille. In 1604 a Rouen edition was issued of the *Discours de la langue et le thrésor de bien dire* of Claude Le Gris. In 1614, Guillaume de la Haye published *Le Printemps des Lettres amoureuses* of Pierre de Deimier. The *Marguerites françoyses ou Thrésor des Fleurs de bien dire* of François Desrues had at least four editions at Rouen from 1608 to 1624. In 1625 there appeared that other manual of preciosity *Le Breviaire des Amoureux ou Tableaux du Tombeau d'Amour* (par le sieur D***). Besides these books treating of love-making according to the rules of *précieux* galantry, there exist other Rouen publications akin in spirit as, for instance, *LIII Arrests d'Amour* of Martial d'Auvergues, 1587; *Questions diverses et réponses d'icelles, divisées en trois livres, sçavoir, Questions d'amour*, etc., 1610, 1617; *Playdoyers et Arrests d'Amour, donnez en la cour et parquet de Cupidon*, 1627; and several others discussing love in a more or less casuistic fashion. Any one of these books—and an exhaustive study of the Rouen publications during Corneille's youth would, no doubt, reveal more of them—may have supplied him with all the *précieux* expressions he used in his early plays. Yet, he could have found them everywhere in the literature of the times. They are after all but few in number and Preciosity had, before his début, enjoyed a vogue of at least 30 years.

In France, Preciosity did not originate at the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Its influence dates only from about 1618, when the "beau monde de l'esprit" began to gather there. Gustave Reynier, in *Le roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, has conclusively demonstrated that the early years of the seventeenth century were marked by a current of preciosity such as was not equalled in the later decades. Nor can G. B. Marino be held responsible for these excesses of high-flown rhetoric. They had triumphed before his arrival in France. This early preciosity explains how provincial authors who never

were acquainted with the Parisian drawing rooms could write, even years before Corneille's début, in a manner similar to the style of the *Précieux*. P. de Marbeuf, a Rouen poet with whom Corneille was acquainted, since he sent him some laudatory verses for *La Veuve*, was crowned in 1617 at the Puy des Palinods at Rouen for the following poem, which gives an example of the "great art" acclaimed in Rouen at the time of Corneille's youth:⁹

ANATOMIE DE L'OEIL

L'Oeil est dans un chasteau que ceignent les frontières
De ce petit vallon clos de deux boulevards;
Il a pour pont-levis ses mouvantes paupières,
Le Ciel pour garde-corps, les sourcils pour remparts.

Il comprend trois humeurs; l'aqueuse, et la vitrée,
Et le crystal nageant au milieu de ces deux;
Lequel a pour miroir l'iris jointe à l'urée,
Pour objet les couleurs qu'il présente à nos yeux.

Les tuniques, tenant ce corps en consistance,
L'empêchent de glisser dedans ses mouvements;
Et ses tendons poreux apportent la substance
Qui garde et nourrit l'oeil et ses compartiments.

Quatre muscles sont droits, et puis deux sont obliques,
Communiquant à l'oeil sa prompte agilité;
Mais en développant les petits nerfs optiques
Les tient fermes toujours en leur mobilité.

Bref, l'oeil mesurant tout d'une même mesure,
A soi-même inconnu cognoit tout l'Univers;
Et conçoit dans l'enclos de sa ronde figure
Le rond et le quarré, le droit et le travers.

Toutefois ce flambeau qui conduit nostre vie,
De l'obscur de ce corps emprunte sa clarté;
Nous serons donc le corps, vous serez l'oeil, Marie,
Qui prenez vostre jour de nostre obscurité.

This pedantic and *précieux* poem shows the kind of verse known to Corneille in his youth. It is, of course, selected arbitrarily from among many others of the same nature. A more complete study of this "estilo culto" would be far too extensive and too complex for the scope of the present article. On the other hand, a few examples are sufficient since the preciousness of the early seventeenth century is rather impersonal and occurs but with little variation in choice of imagery and antithetical conceits.

The following example is taken from a novel by a Norman author, *Les Amours de Floris et de Cléonthe*, 1613, by Nic. Moulinet, sieur

⁹ Pierre de Marbeuf died in 1645.

du Parc. Its style is as mellifluous as the manner of any of the confirmed poets of the Hotel de Rambouillet. Doralis, a shepherd, finds the shepherdess Floris asleep :

Enfin fascé du larcin que le sommeil luy faisoit, luy desrobant le jour que luy donnoit ses beaux yeux, il luy disoit: Reveillez-vous, Floris, reveillez, ouvrez ces beaux yeux, ces deux lumières d'Amour que Morphée tient un trop long-temps fermez, et songez un peu au larcin que vous me faictes en me privant de leurs clartez, ouvrez les donc, et me rendez ce que vous m'avez injustement desrobé. Mais non, ne les ouvrez pas encore, de peur que leurs brillans esclairs ne causent l'aveuglement des miens, ou ne foudroyent mon ame par la recevoir leur feux; ou pour le moins attendez que je les aye preparez pour recevoir leur lumière. Mais quoy? Puis, je rester si longtemps en des tenebres si fascheuses, et au milieu d'un jour serein, parmi tant de noires obscuritez? Ouvrez les, Floris, ouvrez ces beaux boute-feux de mon ame, desquels j'attens non seulement la lumière, mais aussi la vie de ma vie." (pp. 25-26).

In *La Driade Amoureuse*, a pastoral play of P. Troterel, printed at Rouen in 1605, occurs a commonplace of literary courtship of the times, derived in most cases from the *Astrée* (Part 1, Book X, p. 697), and which Corneille has ridiculed in *La Veuve* (1, 3) :

Or, ainsi que le fer baisé d'un fin aimant
Se retourne vers luy comme à son cher amant,
Tout de mesme vostre oeil, calamite des ames,
Ayant touché mon coeur de l'esclair de ses flames, etc.
La Driade amoureuse, 1, 6.

Corneille mocks :

Il m'aborde en tremblant avec ce compliment:
'Vous m'attirez à vous ainsi que fait l'aimant'
(Il pensoit m'avoir dit le meilleur mot du monde!)
Entendant ce haut style, aussitôt je seconde,
Et reponds brusquement sans beaucoup m'émouvoir:
'Vous êtes donc de fer à ce que je puis voir.'
Ce grand mot étouffa tout ce qu'il vouloit dire. . . .

I do not claim that Corneille had exactly the verses of P. Troterel in mind when he ridiculed this commonplace. He could have found it everywhere, but he had not to search for it outside of his native city, where the *Astrée* counted some editions and where Troterel's play was issued.

But there is no reason for supposing that Corneille's reading would have been limited to books printed at Rouen. It may safely be assumed that he must have had some knowledge of the works of, for instance, the renowned de Nervèze or Des Escuteaux, or of some of the numerous *précieux* authors of the period. The novels which attempted to portray contemporary life and which undertook in prose what Corneille did on the stage were not less extravagant in their misuse of flowery antithesis than the pastoral plays of the

period. In a word, the moderate amount of preciosity in Corneille's early plays would be more naturally derived from the abundant *précieux* literature of the times than from his personal and realistic observation of a circle in which he did not move at that moment.

* * *

It is commonly said that Corneille's attitude toward preciosity was sympathetic; that his picture of it, if realistic, was no mockery and no caricature. Brunetière holds that Corneille, even at the very outset of his career, was striving to gain the approval of the *Précieuses*. Yet his early works do not show any trace of this supposed enthusiasm for their exaggerations. On the contrary, it is quite evident that he treats the verbal summersaults of his heroes with a smiling coolness and even with irony.

He experienced early a feeling of dislike for the cold frenzy of imaginary passion and a parallel dislike of conventional and overwrought imagery. In the poetry published with the *Clitandre*, in 1632, he made a light-hearted confession of his youthful "schwärmerei" of which he claimed to be happily cured. Incidentally he derides, with satirical banter, the masquerade of unreal feeling and stilted expression, which is the essence of preciosity:

J'ai fait autrefois de la bête;
J'avois des Philis à la tête,
J'épiois les occasions;
J'épilognois mes passions;
Je paraphrasois un visage;
Soleils, flambeaux, attraits, appas,
Pleurs, désespoirs, tourmens, trépas,
Tout ce petit meuble de bouche,
Dont un amoureux s'escarmouche,
Je savois bien m'en escrimer.
Par là je m'appris à rimer;
Par là je fis, sans autre chose,
Un sot en vers d'un sot en prose;¹⁰
Et Dieu sait alors si les feux,
Les flammes, les soupirs, les vœux,
Et tout ce menu badinage,
Servoit de rime et de remplage, etc.¹¹

In the first scene of the *Mélite*, Tircis considers his own exercises in preciosity as but an artificial display of wit, an obligatory convention in love making:

¹⁰ Cf. J. du Bellay. *Regrets* CXLIX:

Nous sommes fols en vers et vous l'êtes en prose,
C'est le seul différent qu'est entre vous et nous.

¹¹ Marty-Lav., X, 27.

Tous ces discours de livre alors sont de saison;
Il faut feindre du mal, demander guérison,
Donner sur le Phébus, promettre des miracles,
Jurer qu'on brisera toute sorte d'obstacles,
Mais du vent et cela doivent être tout un.

All through the *Mélite* the *précieux* expressions are attributed to a supplanted lover, Eraste, and to a credulous fop, Philandre. Both are intended as comical,¹² but the latter is the most clear-cut caricature in the play. He is cheated by means of imitated love-letters, refuses to fight a duel and is forced to confess that he is a coward. At the end of the play he loses his sweetheart and is told to marry the decrepit nurse. It is not without significance that Corneille attributes ironically most of the hyperbolical verbiage in his *Mélite* to this snob. An example of his ornamental preciousity:

Philandre: Regarde dans mes yeux, et reconnais qu'en moi
On peut voir quelque chose aussi beau comme toi.
Cloris: C'est sans difficulté, m'y voyant exprimée.
Philandre: Quitte ce vain orgueil dont ta vue est charmée:
Tu n'y vois que mon coeur, qui n'a plus un seul trait
Que ceux qu'il a reçus de ton divin portrait,
Et qui tout aussitôt que tu te fais paraître,
Afin de te mieux voir, se met à la fenêtre.

Cloris answers with a good deal of flat common sense and not in *précieux* style:

A travers ces discours si remplis d'artifice,
Je découvre le but de ton intention:
C'est que, te défiant de mon affection,
Tu la veux acquérir par une flatterie.
Philandre, ces propos sentent la moquerie!
(Ed. 1633-57)

An ample collection of *précieux* passages could be gathered from Corneille's early works. He treated them with an amused smile which shows how vividly he was aware of the emptiness of these glittering periphrases. "Que dit-il de ma fille?" asks Chrysante in *La Veuve*.

Geron: Ah, Madame, il l'adora!
Il n'a point encore vu de miracles pareils;
Ses yeux, à son avis, sont autant de soleils;
L'enfleur de son sein un double petit monde;
C'est le seul ornement de la machine ronde;
L'amour à ses regards allume son flambeau
Et souvent pour la voir il ôte son bandeau;
Diane n'eut jamais une si belle taille;
Auprès d'elle Venus ne seroit rien qui vaille;
Ce ne sont rien que lis et roses que son teint;

¹² Eraste becomes mad and amuses the audience with an imitation of the mad scenes from the tragedies of the time.

Enfin de ses beautés il est si fort atteint. . . .
Chrysante: Atteint! Ah! mon ami, ce sont des rêveries,
 Il s'en moque en disant de telles niaiseries.

Corneille felt how far removed from the realities of life were these polished compliments of love-lorn stanzas and sonnets. Lysandre says in the *Galerie du Palais*:

Et je n'ai jamais vu de cervelles bien faites
 Qui traitassent l'amour à la façon des poètes.
 C'est tout un autre jeu. Le style d'un sonnet
 Est fort extravagant dedans un cabinet;
 Il y faut bien louer la beauté qu'on adore,
 Sans mépriser Vénus, sans médire de Flore,
 Sans que l'éclat des lis, des roses, d'un beau jour,
 Ait rien à démêler avecque notre amour.

The half satirical picture of the *Précieux* of the time, the thrusts at their manners and compliments were, with the clever imbroglio in which the characters become entangled and the bewildering rapidity of the changes in the situations, the comic elements in Corneille's early plays. At the time of his début, he shows that he is perfectly conscious of the tawdriness of the jargon of the *Précieux*,—a kind of literary pose. He smiles or grumbles at its excesses, and, if his satire is good-humoured, it remains nevertheless a satire. Far from striving anxiously to merit the applause of the *Précieuses*, he treats them, in fact, half seriously and sometimes with derision. He felt that at bottom their pose was mediocre, their pretense shallow, their literary manner mere imitation.

We must be on our guard against concluding too rashly that, because a certain style of expression triumphs in literature, it was used to any large extent in society. Our own experience proves that even the most cultured upper classes of the population do not speak like the heroes of Meredith or Wilde. In every epoch stilted and artificial conventions of expression remain almost exclusively confined to books. No doubt the ordinary style of conversation may take on tints from the dominating coloration of literature, but this phenomenon is limited to those who are afflicted with *literaturitis*. The very attempt at mimicking books to such an extent and at enacting plays in real life, strikes us as ludicrous. Corneille, who has given ample evidence of his "tragic sense of life," early felt the emptiness of the attitudinizing of the *Précieux*. If he met cavaliers who used commonly this bookish style in daily conversation, they appeared to him necessarily as exceptional,—relatively exceptional as a Shawian or a Nietzscheist to-day. And it was exactly their exceptionality and their mistaken attempt at differentiating themselves that made them comic characters.

In his discontent with the exaggerations of Preciosity, Corneille had both literary predecessors and sympathizers. He uses, for instance, the expression *Donner sur le Phébus* (to use flowery language), which was used in the early decades of the seventeenth century to ridicule an ostentatious display of Preciosity. Théophile, who at that moment must have forgotten his *Pyrame et Thisbé*, rhymes:

Ses termes esgarez offencent mon humeur,
Et ne viennent, qu'au sens d'un novice rimeur
Qui réclame Phébus; quant à moy, je l'abjure
Et ne recognois rien pour tout que ma nature.
(Oeuvres, I, p. 236)

The satirist Regnier also used the expression in his *Xth Satire*:

Je vous laisse en repos jusques à quelques jours,
Que *sans parler Phébus*, je feray le discours . . .

It occurs, with the same ironical connotation in Sorel's *Francion*:

Néanmoins je recommanday bien à Laurette de luy tesmoigner toujours une petite rigueur invincible, jusqu'à tant qu'il répandit dans ses mains force écus d'or, que je luy disois estre des astres qui donnent la qualité de dieux en terre à ceux qui les ont en maniement, ainsi que les planètes, qui sont au ciel, donnent ce même humeur aux intelligences qui les régissent. Je suis scavante, oui, vous ne le croyez pas; je veux vous montrer que j'ai lu quelquefois les bons livres, ou j'ay appris à *parler Phébus*'' On p. 218, he repeats: "Il (Melibée-Boisrobert) luy *parloit toujours Phébus* dans son transport et luy disoit: Que je baise ces belles mains, ma belle! Mais, las! Quel prodigieux effect, elles sont de neige et pourtant elles me brulent. Si je baise ces belles roses de vos joues, ne serai-je point piqué, vu que les roses ne sont point sans épines, etc."¹³

These examples suffice to measure in what ironical and anti-*précieux* meaning Corneille used the expression in the first scene of *Mélite*, his first play:

Il faut feindre du mal, demander guérison,
Donner sur le Phébus, promettre des miracles. . .

They also point to the fact that some authors at the period of Corneille's youth had inaugurated an anti-preciosity movement. In 1605 one already finds a *Ballet en langage forézien, de trois bergers et trois bergères se gaussant des amoureux qui nomment leurs maîtresses, leur doux souvenir, leur belle pensée, leur lis, leur rose, leur oeillet*, etc. In 1609, the novel *Les mille Imaginations de Cypille* imitated ironically the style of the chevalier Ostande: Elle se retire pour lire ces quatre mots à l'antiquaille amadigualisez, que le paladin

¹³ The expression is also found in Brébeuf, Furetière, Boisrobert, Bouhours, La Mesnardière, Serrazin, Chevreau, Molière, La Bruyère, and others.

désireux luy transmettoit: Ostande sans ostentation vaine, généreux aventurier, damoiseil d'eslite, le parangon des braves, l'outrepasse des mieux formés et bref fleur de chevalerie; à vous, Cyrénée de Zélande, Régente de ses afflictions, salut . . ." The letter is signed "Le vassal fidèle des pieds de votre puissance." Sorel, in the *Francion* (pp. 144-147) mocks at the flowery speeches of the pedant Hortensius.¹⁴ Other works sent arrows against this literary fashion. The most celebrated is the *Berger Extravagant*, but the *Tombeau des Romans* of Fancan and the translations of the *Don Quixote* may not have been without influence in this direction. They were intimately connected with the tendency toward the *vraysemblable* which between 1615 and 1635, is found in a great number of contemporary novels.

A few volumes in which we find a critical attitude towards preciosity, similar to Corneille's attitude in some of his early plays, were printed at Rouen at the time that he began writing verse. In 1623 appears *Le Desdain de l'amour, contenant la description des amoureux et des dames de ce temps* by Mademoiselle H. D. B., in which the heroines claim to be tired of all the fashionable verbose gallantry, quite in the fashion of the ironical Mélite or the quick-witted Clarice. The Rouen edition of *Les Satyres du sieur de Courval* (1627) contains several attacks upon the poets of the time. The following verses describe the ravages of preciosity among court-poets:

L'autre, suyvnt l'erreur du siecle fantastique,
 Sans doctrine rendra sa Muse une boutique
 Plaine de mots dorez, propres à ces Muguets,
 Ces Courtisans frisez, ces Mignons Perroquets,
 Ces Damerets, musquez qui courtisent le Louvre,
 Dont le fardé babil la vanité descouvre;
 Car la gloire et le prix des vendeurs courtisans
 C'est farder leurs discours par des mots complaisans;
 Par quoy les vers du temps ils tiennent comme Oracles,
 Et les mots bien peignez leur semblent des Miracles;
 Aussy pour leur complaire on void plusieurs Auteurs
 Leur stile ravalier, pour se rendre flatteurs;
 Et pour trop rechercher les desertes paroles

¹⁴ On the early preciosity in France see E. Roy, *Ch. Sorel*, Ch. X. In the *Dédicace* of the *Bouclier d'honneur*, by Fr. Bening, 1616, the author calls the twenty-two wounds of the brave Crillon "les oriflammes du courage; vingt-deux Presidents en robe rouge; vingt-deux bouches pourprines, qui proclament bien haut sa vertu." Compare the verses in the *Cid*:

Ou plutôt sa valeur en cet état réduite,
 Me parlait par sa plaie et hâtait ma poursuite
 Et pour se faire entendre au plus juste des rois,
 Par cette triste bouche, elle empruntait ma voix.

Ils descharnent leurs vers et en font des idoles,
 Sans muscles, sang et nerfs; Abus ou je pretens
 Censurer la pluspart des Poetes de ce tens. (p. 103).

In 1623 the Rouen Lawyer, Jean Auvray, published in his native city a volume of miscellaneous verse, *Le Banquet des Muses*. One of the poems, *Amoureuse Poursuite ou la Chasteté victorieuse*, depicts a complimentary and absurd courtier who "donne sur le phébus," whereas his beloved pretends to see nothing but mockery in his flowery declarations. The same battles of wit between ladies and cavaliers are not infrequent in Corneille's early plays,¹⁵ and the replies of the ladies are in the same ironical style.

Corneille's preciosity in his early works is then, on the whole, moderate. His style was considered by himself and by his friends, as well as by his critics, as "simple et naïf," and indeed compared with much of the literary production of the early seventeenth century, it is simple and sane, without too glaring exaggerations, except more or less in the *Clitandre*, itself an exception among his early works. His use of preciosity was rather a comical element in his comedies than a sign that he was himself a *Précieux*. On the contrary it has a flavor of irony. He smiles at these stereotyped conceits which formed the "rime et remplace" of all the "novices rimeurs" of 1630. Finally, the fact that he was not in relation with the *précieux* circles when he wrote his first two or three plays, points to the fact that, rather than from a careful notation of daily speech, he derived his preciosity from the literature of his time.

¹⁵ Cf. *The Genesis of Corneille's Mélite*, pp. 24-27.

THE FORGER AT WORK: A NEW CASE AGAINST COLLIER

By HAZELTON SPENCER
State College of Washington

In the Theatre Collection of Harvard University there is a 470 page unsigned MS history of the London stage from 1660 to 1723, which Dr. Malcom McLeod¹ found to be the work of John Payne Collier. It is a very learned performance, though naturally, since it was written before the researches of Messrs. Robert W. Lowe, William J. Lawrence, and Allardyce Nicoll, it is, quite aside from its frequent inclusion of spurious documents, often untrustworthy in matters of fact. On the other hand, it contains many interesting notes on the plays and actors.

About 100 pages are a reasonably fair copy, probably intended for the printer; the remainder is marked by much revision and by addenda pasted onto margins. In my footnotes I shall refer to these consecutive portions of the MS as the Final Draft. Curiously enough the previous draft of the first part of this document was also preserved, numbered up to page 105. It is marred not only by radical revisions but also by excisions which Collier frequently pasted onto the Final Draft; I shall refer to it therefore as the Mutilated Draft. In its pages we can take Collier in the very act of committing his forgeries.

In his discussion of the circumstances under which Killigrew and D'Avenant obtained their grants as theatrical monopolists, Collier incorrectly assumes that the grant of August 21, 1660, did not become operative, and that the patents of April 25, 1662, and January 15, 1663, were the first which were effective. Why this delay? he asks. He suggests a rather lame answer:

It is not at all impossible that the claimants for such a grant at such a time were numerous and perhaps the King did not at first know how to reject them all in favor of Killigrew and Davenant.

Collier goes on to point out the now well known fact that Mohun, Hart, Cartwright, and their associates (the "Old Actors") were

¹ "Some Items in the Theatre Collection," *Harvard Library Notes*, no. 2 (Oct. 1920). The MS is numbered TS1056.192.

“not on good terms” with the Patentees during the early autumn of 1660. He cites two pieces of evidence for this conclusion. The first is the petition of these actors against the interference, not, as Collier (who fails to date the document) implies, of Killigrew and D’Avenant, but of Sir Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels.²

Collier’s second piece of evidence, and the first occasion of the article in hand, he describes as “a humorous M.S. [sic] poem in my hands in a volume of others all referring to the events political and domestic of the reign of Charles II.” This poem, Collier would have us believe, indicates

that Mohun and Hart were themselves applicants for a patent, and the known services of both during the civil war seemed to entitle them to the boon. The verses have no date but clearly relate to the period of which we are speaking and are thus entitled.

The Player-Patentees.

The rest of the page (9) has been cut away, but the two missing initial stanzas turn up in the Final Draft (p. 15) as follows. Note that Collier has changed his title to

The would-be Patentee Players

Says Hart to Moon, “We shall not soon
Get our new Patent granted.”
Says Moon to Hart, “I must assert
’Tis what we much have wanted.
But Killigrew and Davenant
Will not be long in having on’t.”

Says Hart to Moon, “I’m out of tune,
Major, to hear you say it.”
Says Moon to Hart, “Keep up your heart
Without us they can’t play it.
So Killigrew and Davenant
Get little good by having on’t.”

Collier continues (Mutilated Draft, p. 10) with the remaining stanzas:

Says Hart to Moon, “Then Betterton
And Kinston will have share on’t.”
Says Moon to Hart, “Let them have part
There’ll something be to spare on’t:
So Killigrew and Davenant,
And all will gain by having on’t.”

Says Hart to Mohun, “Methinks a boon
By *us* might be expected.”

² Reprinted by J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, pp. 94-6; Malone, *Shakespeare’s Works* (ed. 1803), III, 306-8, (Variorum) II, 254 f.; J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *A Collection of Ancient Documents*, pp. 44 f. The date is probably Oct. 13, 1660.

Says Moon to Hart, "I'll act my part
Though now I am neglected.
 But Killigrew and Davenant
 Are worthy sure of having on't."

The words italicized represent revisions by Collier: *us might* replaces *all would*, which has been struck out, the new phrase being written in above the line. The original version of the next to the last line is as it stands, but in the Final Draft (p. 16) Collier changes it to

Though my claim is rejected.

In fine, these alterations have every appearance of being author's corrections rather than copyist's errors. That this suspicion is well founded is evident from an alleged ballad which I shall cite later. But I give these illustrations of Collier's methods in the order of their appearance in the MS.

On page 12, after summarizing the agreement of November 5, 1660, between D'Avenant and his actors, Collier proceeds:

I have in my possession a copy of a similar agreement entered into between Killigrew and the company which under his direction was to perform as the King's servants. Unluckily the transcriber has omitted the date³ but we can have no difficulty in assigning it to the year 1660. It stipulates that the company shall erect the theatre in which they were to perform and that Killigrew shall only procure a warrant from the King for the purpose—for which he was to be allowed £14 a week clear of all expences and 40s a week as a salary for John Carew who was to be the manager under Killigrew: in conclusion the company enter into this remarkable covenant:—"that they will before Michaelmas next cause the women's parts in plays etc. to be acted and performed by women, and procure all parts to be acted in habits proper to the persons and country where the scene is laid and to have and use scenes proper to the matter represented." Killigrew therefore preferred a certain weekly salary to the produce of any shares the amount of which would depend upon circumstances, the popularity of plays, actors, etc. From the clause regarding actresses we may perhaps infer that the company generally was opposed to such an innovation.

Has any one seen any other reference to this remarkable document? It is suspect if for no other reason than the provision that Killigrew is put on a salary. If, moreover, John Carew existed as manager of the Theatre Royal, except in Collier's imagination, I have not heard of him. On page 43 of the Mutilated Draft Collier supports his account of this agreement by stating that Kynaston (who had continued to act with D'Avenant) joined the association of Killigrew's actors on "28th Jan 7 1661-2," "on which day he, Baxter, Blagden, and Loveday, agreed to enter into

³ The uncorrected version is: *It is unluckily without date.*

⁴ Inserted with caret.

the speculation. This date is contained in the original document which was formerly in the possession of Mr. Watson Taylor and was sold with his books."

Though Collier is here somewhat more definite in his reference, his authority is doubtful; first because of his tampering with the date, and second because Kynaston was with Killigrew from the time D'Avenant removed Betterton and the future Duke's Company to the Salisbury Court theatre. Perhaps Collier first hit on January 7, 1661, because Pepys on that date mentions Kynaston for the first time after D'Avenant's withdrawal. Why he dallied with 28 I do not know, though on page 48 of the Final Draft he sticks to this date.

The next apparent forgery appears on page 24 (Mutilated Draft). Collier has taken up the ticklish problem of the first appearance of actresses. He concludes correctly that the date was probably October 8, 1660, but incorrectly that the lady was Mrs. Anne Marshall instead of Mrs. Hughes.⁵ He bases his conclusion on

some wretched doggerels containing a yet more wretched pun which I detected upon a loose piece of paper among Manuscripts both of older and more recent date preserved at Bridgewater House.⁶ Hence we learn that Ann Marshall, already named as a member of Killigrew's Company, played Desdemona before she relinquished the part to Mrs. Hughes, to whom it is assigned by Downes: The fact established by it is my only apology for inserting such trash, but the lines run thus:—

Who must not be partial
To pretty Nan Marshall?⁷
Though *I think, be it known,*⁸
She too much does⁹ de-moan;
But that in the Moor
May be right, to be sure,
Since her part and¹⁰ her name
Do tell her the same.

⁵ For the claims of Mrs. Hughes see Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, (ed. Knight), pp. xi-xiv; and R. W. Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 79-81.

⁶ The seat, he might have added, of some of his Shakespeare forgeries. Instead he continues in a note: "One of these, which I cannot omit to specify, is a long poem by Ben Jonson never yet published, appended to others which have appeared, regarding his quarrel with Inigo Jones. It is rugged and severe and the poet treats the architect with the utmost contempt. The name 'Ben Johnson' is subscribed at the end, but altho' the 'Ben' is like Jonson's writing he never spelt his name with an *h*, and that fact alone is evidence against the autograph. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the poem itself is genuine."

⁷ F. D. (p. 37) lacks interrogation point. (With this and one other exception I do not cite the numerous variants in pointing.)

⁸ F. D.: *'tis true, I must own.*

⁹ After *does* a hyphen has been removed by chemicals.

¹⁰ This is *g* in the MS, as it regularly is in Collier's own text.

But none can refuse
To say Mistress Hughes
Her rival out-does.¹¹

The reader may be puzzled to find the pun of which I have spoken: bad as it is, the author has coined a word for it, and perhaps I should not have detected it at all but for the old manner of writing the line,

"Shee to much do's-de-moane"

Which and what followed put me on the scent that the writer intended to play upon the name Desdemona, censuring Miss Marshall's too lachrymose delivery of the part. Others may have been of the same opinion, and hence she might be induced to relinquish Desdemona in favor of Mrs. Hughes.

Who am I to say that these "doggerels" neither do nor did exist independently of Collier? But I believe they are forged. When Collier refers to a MS viewed by his eye alone we must suspect him, even if the mysterious document merely confirms other evidence. But when it flatly contradicts what we know from other sources we are fortunately not obliged to refute it.

On page 36 of the MS (Mutilated Draft) occurs a quatrain from "a MS. of about that time [early Restoration] but without date"

On¹² the Shirleys

Of Shirley the father and Shirley the son
You may say what you will; they are equaled by none;
And¹³ merit an equal proportion of praise,
The one for bad acting, the other bad plays.

On the strength of these verses Collier motivates the withdrawal of Shirley the actor from Drury Lane as due to his failure to please, and identifies him with a son of the dramatist "who subsequently became Butler at Gray's Inn." Again I have nothing conclusive to offer, but the poem certainly looks like another forgery.

The next forgery (M.D. pp. 56-7) is a clear case, since it is full of what can be nothing else than author's corrections. Anticipating the interests of one of our progressive movie magnates, Collier is dealing *con amore* with the career of Nelly Gwyn. He offers

¹¹ The Final Draft adds these lines:

"Yet I swear, honest Coz,
With a critical oath
That Ned beats them both."

"Hence," Collier coolly observes, "we learn three points that Edward Kynaston had been in possession of the part until the innovation of the ladies commenced; that then in the first instance Desdemona was given to Miss Anne Marshall, who played it in too lachrymose a stile, and that she soon relinquished it to Mrs. Hughes. In the opinion of the writer of the verses, above quoted, Kynaston was superior to either."

¹² F. D. (p. 46): *Of*.

¹³ Originally: *They*.

“the following ballad preserved in M.S. [*sic*] of the time, for during the reign of Charles II it is obvious that it could not be printed.” (Collier is wrong, of course, in this assumption.) I italicize the revised portions:

Madam Nelly
 From *bawdy*¹⁴ house she came
 At play-house fruit to sell;
 Until, quite lost to shame,
*She sold herself*¹⁵ as well
*And cheap as most can tell*¹⁶
 But pretty Nelly Gwynn
 Is the only girl to win
 So speedily and *readily*¹⁷
 The favour of the King.

Charles Hart first took her up
Mong middle gallery masks,¹⁸
 And led her thence to sup
 With him *where her he asks*,¹⁹
*They both soon knew their tasks*²⁰
*Chorus*²¹

Next Buckhurst had her *charms*²²
 And satisfied his whim.
 Who next *was in her arms*,²³
*Had need be stout of*²⁴ limb.
 I'm glad I am not him:
Chorus

She suitors had a score,
 For she was *wondrous*²⁵ pretty;
 Grew common as a w——²⁶
 That draggles through the city.
 Alas! the more the pity—
*Chorus*²⁷

¹⁴ F. D. (p. 56): *b—y*.

¹⁵ Originally: *Some other things*.

¹⁶ Originally: *She taught—the road to hell*.

¹⁷ Original illegible.

¹⁸ Originally: *Mong masks in middle gallery*.

¹⁹ Originally: *upon his salary*. F. D. transposes *her* and *he*.

²⁰ Originally: *And so off to St. Malory*.

²¹ F. D. has at the end of this stanza, and also of the next, instead of *Chorus*:
But pretty Nelly Gwyn &c.

²² Originally: *love*.

²³ Originally: *— is known above*.

²⁴ Originally: *Or to each devil's*.

²⁵ F. D.: *mighty*. In F. D., p. 108, Collier enlarges upon *mighty* as a favorite adverb of Pepys.

²⁶ The dash replaces characters eradicated by chemicals.

²⁷ F. D.: *That pretty Nelly Gwyn, &c.*

Then see her on the stage
*And see her*²⁸ dance and sing
*You'd*²⁹ say, I will engage,
 She is a dainty thing;
 A morsel for a King.
*Chorus*³⁰

But now we must be mum;
 And why the reason's clear:
 She is the very drum
 Of royal *Charles's*³¹ ear;
 And speaking may cost dear.
*But*³² pretty Nelly Gwynn,
 She has contriv'd to win,
 And warily, yet merrily
 To rule our royal King.

There are further citations in the Final Draft of this MS which are probably forgeries. A curious interest attaches to some of them because of their indecency. It is a strange spectacle—the great scholar stooping to fabricate smutty doggerel. I hope to have more to say about his MS. But with the forgeries already cited from the Mutilated Draft the prosecution rests.

²⁸ F. D.: *For she can.*

²⁹ F. D.: *You'll.*

³⁰ F. D.: *For pretty Nelly Gwyn &c.*

³¹ F. D.: *Rowley's.*

³² F. D.: *Still.*

AN ANALYSIS OF CICERO, *TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS*, BOOK I

By CHARLES KNAPP

Barnard College, Columbia University

A deeply interesting and highly important department of study lies in the attempt to analyze, adequately, some great work of literature, or even a part of such a work. Many editions of parts of classical literature have presented, in their Introductions or in their Commentaries, attempts at analysis of the contents of those parts. Such analyses have been, all too frequently, unsuccessful, largely because not enough space was devoted to them.

There are two main defects of analyses. The first is a failure to indicate with sufficient clearness the logical interrelation of the parts of the work under consideration. To determine that interrelation is, often, no slight task. To indicate the results, when the task has been rightly done, often requires a somewhat complicated—or complicated-looking—system of marks for the divisions, major and minor, of the work. Great pains, too, must be taken to indicate how and where the author effects his transitions from point to point. Secondly, the *digressions* do not receive proper attention. Often fascinating, often important, often both fascinating and important, they increase greatly the difficulty of following the course of exposition or of argument. Yet, often, no suggestion is given, either in Introduction or in Commentary, that there is any digression at all in the work supposedly under analysis.

The sort of analysis suggested above I have essayed in the following articles: "An Analysis of Cicero, Cato Maior," *The Classical Weekly*, VIII (1915), 177-8, 185-6 (special attention is called to the second and the third paragraphs of this paper); "An Analysis of Lucretius, De Rerum Natura I-III," *The Classical Weekly*, XIII (1919), 1-5, 9-13, 17-21, 25-31; "An Analysis of Horace, Sermones 2.3," *The Classical Weekly*, XIII (1920), 73-5; "An Analysis of Horace, Sermones 1.3," *The Classical Weekly*, XIX (1925), 11-12; "A Brief Review of Juvenal, Satire 1," *The Classical Weekly*, XIX (1925), 19-21.

In the present paper I seek to present a proper analysis of Cicero,

Tusculanae Disputationes, Book 1. To analyze adequately all five books of this work would take far too much space. The theme of Book 1, The Immortality of the Soul, has always made that book the favorite portion of this important work.

The first book of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* falls into the following large parts:

I. Prooemium, or Prelude: §§ 1-8.

II. Report of a Discussion at Cicero's Tusculan Villa, by M. (Cicero himself) and A. (an unknown friend of Cicero); §§ 9-119.

The Report falls into the following parts:

A. Prologus, or Preliminary Dialogue, whose purpose is to formulate a working statement of the theme of the discussion: §§ 9-17.

For the moment the theme is stated thus: 'Death is not only not an evil, but is even a blessing.'¹

B. Discussion Proper: §§ 18-111, to *putabat ipsi*.

(1) 'The soul is immortal': §§ 18-81.

(2) 'Even if the soul perishes at death, death is not an evil': §§ 82-111, to *putabat ipsi*.

The theme of the discussion, as finally formulated, is as follows: 'Death is either a blessing, if—as we believe—it is but the necessary preliminary to immortality, or, at any rate, it is not an evil, if it brings annihilation of soul and body alike.'

It will be noticed that Cicero does not entertain at all the possibility that the immortality of the soul might involve an immortality of pain, of punishment. The same statement holds good of the brief discussion, in Cato Maior, §§ 77-84, of the *immortalitas animorum*.

C. Summing-up of the Discussion: §§ 111, *Ego autem tibi quidem*. . . -112, to *mortem non ducerem in malis*.

D. Epilogus: §§ 112, *Num igitur . . . desideramus?* . . . -119, to *epilogus firmiorem*.

E. Closing Sentences, ending this discussion, and making an easy transition to Book 2: § 119 *Optime, inquam* to end.

The detailed analysis of the several parts is as follows.

I. The Prooemium, or Prelude: §§ 1-8

The Prooemium contains

(1) a dedication of the book to Brutus, together with an ex-

¹ Summaries or paraphrases of Cicero's thought are set in single quotation-marks.

planation of the circumstances under which Cicero came to devote himself to the writing of philosophy, and of his motives in such writing (§ 1). The statement of his motives in writing philosophy leads to

(2) a comparison of the results achieved by the Greeks and those achieved by the Romans in various spheres of activity. The spheres selected are (1') Private Life, (2') Politics and Statecraft, (3') Military Skill, (4') Morality <1' to 4' are to be found in § 2>, (5') Various Branches of Learning: (α) Poetry (§ 3), (β) Painting (§ 4, to *improbantur*), (γ) Music (§ 4, *Summam eruditionem* to end), (δ) Mathematics (§ 5, to *terminavimus modum*), (ε) Oratory (§ 5, *At contra oratorem to Graecis cederetur*), (ζ) Philosophy (§ 5, *Philosophia iacuit* to end).

(3) In connection with philosophy Cicero now states that Latin literature includes as yet no respectable works in philosophy (§ 6, to *sibi permitti volunt*). He is thus led naturally to express his resolve to remedy this defect, and so to combine philosophy with oratory, even as Aristotle had given attention both to rhetoric and to philosophy (§§ 6, *Quare si aliquid -7, ornateque dicere*).

(4) Cicero then glides easily and naturally into the mention of the philosophical discussions he has held, recently, in his Tusculan Villa (§ 7, to *quam exercitationem* to end), and announces his determination to report them exactly as they had occurred (§ 8).

II. The Report of the Discussion (§§ 9-111, to *putabat ipsi*)

A. The Prologue, or Preliminary Dialogue: §§ 9-17.

(1) Statement of the Thesis: *Mors malum est* (§ 9).

(2) Dialogue, in which M. forces A. to define the thesis more closely (§§ 10-17).

A. starts with the bald declaration that death is an evil (§ 9 *Malum . . . mors*). Under M.'s questioning he expands this declaration into the statement that death is annihilation, and, therefore, an evil, both to those who are yet to die and to those who are already dead—in a word, to every one, living or dead (§ 9, *Iisne qui mortui sunt* to end). Questioned further by M., A. modifies even this declaration, into this form: 'Death is an evil to those who are yet to die' (§§ 10-14). M. points out that the view now maintained by A. makes death far less fraught with woe to mankind (§ 15, to *Iam agnosco Graecum*). A. now begs M. to disprove even this assertion, and to show that death is not an evil to those who

are yet to die (§ 15, *Sed quoniam coegisti* to end). M. agrees; indeed, he volunteers to essay something bigger, something far more difficult—to prove that death is actually a blessing (§ 16). After A. expresses his delight at this offer (§ 17, to *malo non roges*), M. prefaces his discussion proper with a reference to his position as a follower of the New Academy, a position which prevents him from making positive, oracular statements (§ 17, *Geram tibi morem* to end).

B. Discussion Proper: §§ 18-111, to *putabat ipsi*.

I. Part I of the Discussion: §§ 18-81.

Theme: 'The soul is immortal. Death is, therefore, a blessing.'

(1) The discussion begins, properly, with a definition of death. Death is defined as 'the separation of the soul from the body' (§ 18, to *alii semper*). This leads, naturally, to

(2) a definition of the soul. M. gives, here, no opinion of his own about the nature of the soul. He merely enumerates those of others, as follows:

(1') The soul is the intelligence, *cor*: a common Roman view (§ 18, *Aliis cor* to end).

(2') The soul is the blood spread over (through) the heart, *cor*: the view of Empedocles (§ 19, *Empedocles . . . sanguinem*).

(3') The soul is a part of the brain, or is situated in the brain, *cerebrum*, or in the heart, *cor* (§ 19, *aliis . . . locum*).

(4') The soul is the breath of life, *anima* (§ 19, *Animum . . . dictus est*).

(5') The soul is fire, *ignis*: a Stoic doctrine (§ 19, *Zenoni . . . videtur*).

(6') The soul is a tuning-up of the body, a harmony produced by the proper configuration and combination of its various parts: the view of Aristoxenus, a musician-philosopher (§§ 19, *Sed haec quidem*, 20- *explanatum a Platone*).

(7') The soul is number: the view of Xenocrates (§ 20, *Xenocrates . . . maxima esset*).

(8') The soul is three-fold, or, rather, two-fold. It has a rational part and an irrational part. The latter part, the irrational part, is itself dual. This is Plato's view (§ 20, *Eius doctor* to end).

(9') There is no soul at all as a separate entity. The life-giving power is spread all through the body, and is not separable from the body. There is, in fact, only body, body so shaped, so adjusted

by nature that it lives and moves and has consciousness. This is the view of Dicaearchus (§ 21).

(10') The soul is 'the entelechy of the body': the view of Aristotle (§ 22, to *perennem*).

(11') The soul is made up of atoms: a negligible view, the view of <Leucippus>,² Democritus, <and Epicurus> (§ 22, *Nisi quae me* to end).

(3) A brief dialogue now follows, which, at first sight, seems not to advance the discussion at all (§§ 23-25). Its purpose, however, is to pave the way for a more methodical discussion.

M. declares that it is not necessary to decide between the various views concerning the nature of the soul (§ 23), because

(1') some of these views (e.g., the first, third, fourth, and sixth) make death annihilation (§ 24, to *quod intersit*);

(2') others (e.g., the eighth) are distinctly comforting and inspiring, because they predicate immortality (§ 24, *Reliquorum to pervenire*). Hence, all these views lead to the conviction that *Death is either not an evil or is a positive blessing* (§§ 24, *Me vero delectat* -25).

To this last remark, the appeal of A., *Expone . . . malo mortem* (§ 26) attaches itself closely; at the same time, it gives a summary, in advance, of the course of the discussion to § 111, to *putabat ipsi*.

The ground having been thus finally cleared for action, M. proceeds to adduce

(4) *Proofs of Immortality* (§§ 26, *Auctoribus quidem . . . 111, to putabat ipsi*).

The proofs of immortality fall into two main classes: (1') historical proofs, (2') metaphysical proofs.

(1') Historical Proofs of Immortality: (§§ 26 *Auctoribus quidem* -35).

(a) The conviction that the soul is immortal is innate in man. It has been innate in man since time immemorial. In fact, this conviction was especially strong in the infancy of the race (§§ 26, *Auctoribus quidem* -29).

This conviction is shown, *first*, in the attention bestowed upon ceremonies in honor of the dead (§ 27, *e caeremoniis* to end), and,

² Angular brackets are employed in this article (a) to indicate something implied, rather than definitely stated by Cicero, (b) to supplement, by some important or necessary detail, Cicero's statements.

secondly, in the translation to heaven of the benefactors of our race (§§ 28-29).

(β) The conviction that the soul is immortal is universal. Besides, the conviction is not due to any compact between men, or to legislative enactment. It is this conviction that leads men to bestow sympathy upon the dead, because they conceive of the dead as conscious that they have lost the *commoda vitae*. The universality of the conviction is the best possible proof of its truth (§ 30).

(γ) All men have concern about the things that will take place after they shall be dead, a concern explainable only on the assumption that the human soul realizes that the postmortem future will be in some way intimately connected with it. In other words, the soul has an intimation of its own immortality (§§ 31-34).

(δ) Section 35 is a summary of §§ 26, *Auctoribus quidem* -34.

(ε) Sections 36-52 constitute a departure from the strict path of the argument. As if satisfied that he has fully demonstrated the immortality of the soul, M. passes on to consider the state of the immortal soul after its departure from the body.

In point of fact, however, these sections are not so wide of the mark as, at first blush, they seem to be, for, *first*, they form a commentary on the limitations of the historical arguments just advanced (§§ 26-35), and, *secondly*, they prepare the reader for the stress laid on the purely metaphysical arguments that are, presently, to be brought forward (§§ 53-71, to *tenebantur*).

The sections (36-52) take the following course.

1. Reason, and reason alone, can help us to determine the state of the soul after death (§ 36, *Sed ut deos . . . discendum est*).

2. It was inability to reason that, *first*, led to the popular and erroneous view (§ 36, *Cuius ignoratio . . . mortuorum*), whose misconceptions the poets have aggravated (§§ 36, *Quam eorum opinionem* -37), and, *secondly*, caused ages to pass before the immortal existence of the soul, apart from body, was definitely predicated by Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Plato (§§ 38-39).

3. The true view of the postmortem condition of the soul is now stated (§§ 40-49). In this statement the following points are made.

a. The soul is composed of most subtle elements, being either fire, or breath (air), or, better, fiery breath (air) (§§ 40-41, to *demersa iaceat*).

b. There is next a polemical digression, in which M. assails

Dicaearchus and Democritus (§§ 41, *Dicaearchum vero . . . 42, esse volt*).

c. Hence, when death shall come, the soul will mount from earth till it reaches the fires that feed the stars (§§ 42, *Is autem animus -43*).

d. The soul will realize its truest happiness when it shall reach this blest abode, and shall be at liberty to contemplate, unhampered, the beauties of the universe (§§ 44-47).

e. Sections 48 and 49 constitute a digression, in which M. takes a fling at the Epicureans, and declares that he sees no objection to the view of Pythagoras and Plato, that the soul is immortal.

f. In §§ 50-52 M. turns aside, still further, to explain why so many philosophers refuse to accept the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

The explanation lies, he maintains, in their inability to conceive of the soul apart from body (§ 50, *Sed plurimi . . . comprehendere*).

To this objection M. makes three rejoinders.

(1") 'One cannot comprehend the *nature* of the soul even when it is in the body. The philosophers whom I have in mind have no real apprehension of the soul even while the soul is in the body' (§§ 50, *Quasi vero -51, to intellegant*).

(2") 'What *they* find difficult—i.e., the apprehension of bodyless soul—, *I* find easy. *I* can more readily understand how soul exists apart from body than I can understand how it exists in something so repugnant to the soul as the body surely is. Again, men find no difficulty in apprehending the bodyless divine soul: why do they find it difficult to apprehend bodyless human soul? This latter task is doubly easy if we think of human souls as derived from the divine soul, or as identical with it in character' (§ 51, *Mihi quidem* to end).

(3") 'Apollo's injunction, *Nosce te*, is in reality an invitation to men to understand the soul *per se*, for the true *self* is constituted by the soul, not by the body which it tenants for a season' (§ 52).

(2') Metaphysical Proofs of Immortality (§§ 53-71, to *tenebantur*).

(α) Plato's arguments from the self-activity of the soul (§§ 53-55).

(β) The argument from the capacity of the soul (§§ 56-65).

Kühner neatly summarizes the argument here: "Animus eis facultatibus instructus est, quae nisi a deo aliunde ad hominem

venire non possunt; divinae igitur ob eamque rem aeternae sint necesse est."

M.'s argument runs as follows.

1. 'The soul contains not only perishable elements, but also elements that are imperishable' (§ 56).

These imperishable elements are

a. *Memoria*. To this term two meanings are attached. It equals, first, *recordatio vitae superioris*, i.e., recollections of an existence antedating our present sojourn on earth (§§ 57-58), secondly, 'memory,' in the ordinary sense of the word 'memory' (§ 59).

In §§ 60-61, to *tam multa possit effingere*, emphasis is laid on the thought that such marvelous powers betoken a divine origin of the soul, in which they are vested.

b. The power of thought, and the power of discovery (§§ 61, *Quid?* -63).

c. The power of poetic or eloquent utterance, or of philosophic thought (these are, indeed, but species of the genus represented by b) (§ 64).

2. Now comes a summing-up of §§ 56-64. The thought of these sections is set forth in the words *Ergo animus . . . expers*. 'God,' says M., 'is air or fire: even so must the soul of man be air or fire' (§ 65, to *expers*).

3. This utterance leads to an aside: 'Perhaps, after all, the Aristotelian view, that of the *quinta natura*, is the right view. This view I followed once, in my *Consolatio*' (§ 65, *Sin autem* to end).

Since the quotation from the *Consolatio* helps to determine the turn the discussion takes, it will be well to note, here, its contents.

Three points are made.

a. We cannot explain the soul with the aid of any one of the four common elements, or even with the aid of all four, since the powers of the soul are not derivable from those elements (§ 66, *Animorum . . . nisi a deo*).

b. The soul is, therefore, some distinct nature, divine, eternal (§ 66, *Singularis . . . necesse est*).

c. The soul is like God: it is mind, unhampered, omniscient, self-moving, eternal (§ 66, *Nec vero deus ipse* to end).

Point c leads to the next thought treated by M.

4. 'If any one asks,' he says, '*where* the soul is, we may reply, "Your question is of no importance; indeed, it is impertinent <§ 67>. We *know* that the soul exists, though we see it not. The

soul is known by its works, even as God is known by His works. The great powers of the soul justify our belief that the soul is divine, and so immortal'' ' (§§ 68-70, to *in te est*).

5. A far more pertinent question is this: 'What is the *nature* of the soul?' (§ 70, *Quae est ei natura?* to end).

This question leads to

(ζ) Third Metaphysical Proof (which is, however, barely touched), the homogeneity and the consequent indivisibility of the soul (§ 71, to *tenebantur*).

The *direct* argument for the immortality of the soul is now complete. M. pauses to note

(5) The Moral Consequences of a Belief in the Immortality of the Soul (§§ 71, *His et talibus* -75).

'Such a belief,' says M., 'ought to lead to a readiness to die, as it did in the case of Socrates <§§ 71, *His et talibus* -73, to *doctis esse faciendum*>, even though long dwelling on the destiny of the soul may blind us to the facts of its destiny <§ 73, *Nec vero* to end>, and as it did in the case of Cato Uticensis and divers others <§ 74>, for the whole life of the philosopher is a rehearsing of death <§ 75, to *consuescamus mori*>. The philosopher should, therefore, be ready to quit life at a moment's notice. Such readiness, furthermore, will help his soul, when it shall leave his body, at death, to find its way more easily and more speedily to its final abode of bliss' (§ 75, *Hoc, et dum erimus in terris*, to end).

(6) Transition to the Second Main Division of the Argument (§§ 76-81).

(1') The dialogue here is, in part, a summing-up of results thus far won ('Death is not an evil: perchance it is man's only real blessing': § 76, to *cum dis futuri sumus*), in part a warning to A. to cling firmly to his newly acquired hope of immortality (§ 76, *Quid refert?*, to end), since many, including the Epicureans, Dicaearchus, and the Stoics, deny its soundness (§§ 77-78, to *providebo*). These opponents are, however, brushed lightly aside. To the Stoics alone is serious attention given. Their view is characterized as illogical and absurd (§ 78, *Num quid igitur causae*, to end).

(2') But Panaetius <a Stoic> remains (§ 79, to *non probat*). He sought to prove the *mortality* of the soul by three syllogisms (§ 79, *Volt enim*, to end). These syllogisms run as follows.

(α) Quidquid natum est, id interit.

Animus natus est.

Ergo, animus interit.

The proof of his minor premise here Panaetius finds in the resemblance of children to their parents (§ 79, *Vult enim . . . in corporibus appareat*).

(β) Quidquid dolet, id aegrum esse potest.

Animus dolet.

Ergo, animus aeger esse potest.

(§ 79, *Alteram autem . . . aegrum esse quoque possit*).

(γ) Quidquid aegrum esse potest, id interit.

Animus aeger esse potest.

Ergo, animus interit.

(§ 79, *Quod autem in morbum cadat* to end).

(3') In his answer to Panaetius's arguments, M. takes up Panaetius's points in reverse order.

(α) The last two syllogisms he disposes of by saying that they are foreign to the discussion. The fact that Panaetius used them at all in this connection proves lack of insight on his part (§ 80, *to disculusas putat*).

(β) The first syllogism M. endeavors to dispose of by showing the falsity of its minor premise. The argument runs thus.

1. The resemblance of which Panaetius speaks comes out most strikingly in irrational (that is, soulless) creatures (§ 80, *Iam similitudo . . . expertes*).

2. In rational creatures, the resemblance appears chiefly in parts of the body, not in the rational faculties (§ 80, *hominum autem . . . exstat*).

3. Where likenesses do exist between the souls of children and the souls of their parents, those likenesses are due to like bodily conditions (§ 80, *Multa enim* to end).

4. The resemblance, even in bodily matters, is far from universal (§ 81, *to filii*).

These sections (§§ 76-81, *to filii*) strengthen the argument for the immortality of the soul by disposing of some of the considerations urged *against* it.

(7) We have now a sharp recall of the discussion to its true theme: 'Even if the soul perishes at death, death is not an evil' (§ 81, *Sed quid agimus?* to end).

Part II of the Discussion Proper: §§ 82-111,
to *putabat ipsi*

Theme: 'Even if the soul is not immortal, even if death is annihilation, death is not an evil.'

(1) Preliminary General Statement: 'If the soul dies when the body dies, there is no evil postmortem, for then body and soul are, alike, wholly without consciousness' (§ 82, to *tertium est*).

(2) Answers are now given to five objections to the view just set forth (§§ 82, *Ubi igitur malum est* -109, to *ad mortuos pertinere*).

(1') Objection 1: 'The actual separation of the soul from the body, i.e., the process of dying, is not painless' (§ 82, *An ipse animi discessus . . . dolore?*).

The answer is two-fold.

(α) 'Suppose this statement to be true: what of it?' (§ 82, *Ut credam . . . exiguum!*).

(β) 'It is not true. The process of dying is either wholly painless, or at any rate practically so' <i.e., either there is no pain at all, or the pain lasts but for a moment> (§ 82, *Sed falsum esse arbitror* to end).

(2') Objection 2: 'Death is an evil, because it involves a departure from the blessings of life' (§ 83, to *bona in vita*).

The answer includes the following points.

(α) 'The truth is, rather, that death takes us away from the *ills* of life. On this point see my *Consolatio*' <§ 83, *Vide ne . . . possit, to quaerimus*>. See, too, Hegesias, Callimachus, Plato <§§ 83, *Et quidem hoc . . . a Hegesia* -84, to *incommoda*>. Let my personal experience, too, be witness here. In these discussions, and in these experiences we have proof that death takes us away from the *actual* ills of life' (§ 84, *Possem* to end).

(β) 'Even granting that, at the moment of death, a man is blessed with good fortune, it may well be that death is taking him away from *potential*, i.e., *future*, ills. Witness the case of Priam <§ 85>, or that of Pompey <§ 86, to *calamitates*>. A man ought always to be afraid of coming trouble. So, then, we see, death *always* takes men away from *ills*, whether those ills are actual or merely potential' (§ 86, *Haec morte effugiuntur* to end).

(γ) 'Grant for the sake of argument that death does take men away from the blessings of life: what of it? According to the

theory we are now following, death is annihilation. There is no consciousness after death. Hence the dead are not conscious that they lack the blessings of life. What distress, then, can that circumstance occasion them?' (§§ 87-88)

(δ) 'That death does not rob men of blessings, but rather ushers them into blessings appears from the many instances in Roman history in which men despised death' (§ 89).

(3') Objection 3: 'The very fact that the dead lack consciousness is an evil' (§ 90, *At id . . . sine sensu esse*).

The answer includes the following points.

(α) 'This objection has no force, for the dead are not conscious of this lack of consciousness' (§ 90, *Odiosum, . . . to Romam captam*).

(β) An aside: 'Grant that death brings annihilation, and, in consequence, complete loss of consciousness: a man should not thereby be deterred from doing to the full his duty to his country, his kin, etc.' (§§ 90, *Cur igitur* -91, to *consequatur*).

(γ) 'The unconsciousness of the dead has its parallels in the unconsciousness of those who have not yet been born and in the unconsciousness of those who are sunk in sleep. These states are not states of misery' (§§ 91, *Natura vero . . .* -92).

(4') Objection 4: 'A premature death is a misery' (§ 93, *Pellantur . . . mori miserum esse*).

The answer runs as follows.

(α) 'Life was simply *lent* to us by Nature: it was not *given* to us by Nature. Further, Nature set no time for the recall of the loan, for the repayment of the loan. She is at liberty, therefore, to call in the loan whenever she will. To speak of a premature death is, therefore, to be guilty of a misuse of language' (§ 93, *Quod tandem tempus . . . to acceperas*).

(β) 'If it be right at all to speak of a premature death, then, to be consistent, one should grieve most over the death of infants. But this no one does, not even those who prate most about premature deaths' (§ 93, *Idem . . . Troilum*).

(γ) 'It is equally foolish to praise, as many do, the lot of those who die in advanced years, for they are in condition, if anybody is, to enjoy longer life' (§§ 93, *Eorum autem* -94, to *senectus*).

(δ) 'Let us probe this matter more deeply. The popular position with respect to it amounts to this: "To die after a *long* life is nothing: to die after a *short* life is misery." Let us pause to con-

sider what meaning, if any, the terms *long* and *short* can have in this connection. We shall see at once that they are but relative terms' (§ 94, *Quae vero aetas longa est* to end).

(ε) 'This whole complaint is proof of weakness and smallness of mind. Learn, therefore, to esteem death lightly, and to value virtue only <§ 95>. Rise to the temper of a Theramenes <§ 96>, or of a Socrates <§§ 97-100, to *finis esse nullus potest*>, or of the nameless Spartan hero <§ 100, *Sed quid ago* to end>,³ or of the rank and file of our own armies <§ 101, to *arbitrarentur*>, or of the Spartans at Thermopylae <§ 101, *Pari animo . . . pugnabimus*>, or of the famous Spartan mother <§ 102, to *disciplina*>, or of Theodorus <§ 102, *Esto . . . putescat*>.

(5') Objection 5: 'Evil may befall one's corpse' (this objection is given only by implication, in § 102, in the words *Cuius hoc dicto admoneor . . . existimem*).

The answer takes the following course.

(α) 'What happens to their <sometime> bodies is a matter of indifference to the dead. They are utterly without consciousness' (§§ 102, *De qua Socrates* -104).

(β) Digression. In §§ 105-109 (as far as *ad mortuos pertinere*), M. turns aside to laugh at popular errors in connection with this topic.

(3) With § 109, *Sed profecto mors*, M. passes to another phase of the question, 'If death is annihilation, is death an evil?'

He makes the following points.

(1') 'A well-spent life is the best helper toward that frame of mind which enables one to despise death <§ 109, to *Sed profecto mors . . . munere*>. To put it strongly, we may say, "There is nothing remaining to a man who has lived such a life except to die" ' (§ 109, *Multa mihi ipsi* to *vixisse videamur*).

(2') 'One who has lived the kind of life just described may confidently hope for an immortality of fame.⁴ He will be ready, yes, more than ready, to die' (§§ 109, *Quamquam . . .* -111, *putabat ipsi*).

³ The words *Ne ego haud paulo . . . finis esse nullus potest* (§§ 99-100) are a commentary on §§ 95-99 that breaks for a moment the thread of the argument.

⁴ Note that here, as in Cato Maior §§ 77-84, and in *Pro Archia*, §§ 26-29, Cicero does not properly distinguish immortality of fame and true immortality of the soul.

C. Brief Summing-up (§§ 111, *Ego autem tibi quidem* -112, to *mortem non ducerem in malis*).

D. Epilogus: §§ 112, *Num igitur . . . desideramus?* -119, to *fir-miorem*.

(1) Preliminaries: 'An *epilogus* is not necessary, is it?' 'Oh, by all means let us have an *epilogus*' (§ 112, *Num igitur . . . desi-deramus?* to end).

(2) The Epilogus Proper: §§ 113-119, to *fir-miorem*.

(1') 'The gods have repeatedly pronounced death a blessing' (§§ 113-116, *non defuit*).

(2') 'The readiness of men to die *pro patria* points in the same direction' (§ 116, *Clarae vero mortes*, to end).

(3') 'We should, therefore, be so minded as to welcome death whenever it shall come' (§§ 117-119, to *fir-miorem*).

E. Closing Sentences: § 119, *Optime, inquam* to end.

The purpose of these sentences is partly to bring the discussion of Book 1 to a close, partly to prepare for the discussion of the morrow; that is, to prepare for Book 2.

There are sure to be important by-products of such analyses as I have attempted in this paper, and in its predecessors, listed in the third paragraph of the present paper. One such by-product, of prime importance, is the knowledge that the conventional division of classical Latin works into paragraphs and sections, a conventional division that, to be sure, cannot now be discarded, because it has found its way into Dictionaries, Grammars, and Handbooks of all sorts, is, very often, hopelessly illogical, and utterly out of harmony with any real and penetrating analysis of the works into their component parts. In *The Classical Weekly*, VIII (1915), 177, I pointed out how, by a right analysis of Cicero, *De Officiis*, Book 1, and a correct remarking and renumbering of sections and chapters, I had shown, in *American Journal of Philology*, XXVIII (1907), 56-65, that §§ 7-8 of Book 1 may well have come, exactly as they stand in the manuscripts, from Cicero's pen. If so, certain strictures made by some modern editors on these sections have been wide of the mark. In a footnote covering the greater part of pages 58-59 of the same article, I worked out a complete resectioning of Cicero, *De Officiis*, Books 1-3, complete. In my other articles I have, where it was necessary, offered like suggestions. In doing so, I have sought to observe the following principles: (1) the limits assigned to individual sections (the subdivisions of chapters)

should correspond to the limits of sharply defined thoughts; (2) only sections dealing with kindred thoughts should be grouped in a paragraph; (3) sections dealing with kindred thoughts should be grouped in a paragraph.

I subjoin the results of an examination of Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Book 1, in the light of these principles. A reader who will take the trouble to work through this paper again with what follows constantly before him will, I am convinced, realize fully how much easier it would be to follow Cicero's thought if the book were marked, in paragraphs and sections, only as is here suggested, or, should that be too violent a break with convention, if the markings here recommended were to be added to the conventional markings on the margins of the editions of the book.

§ 5 at present is made up of the last three or four lines of Chapter II and the first ten or eleven lines of Chapter III. It deals now with *three* subjects—mathematics, oratory, and philosophy. It should begin where Chapter III begins, with *At contra oratorem*. . . Kühner, Tischer-Sorof, Rockwood, Nutting, rightly make a paragraph begin at this point. § 6 should begin with *Philosophia iacuit* . . ., and extend as far as it does at present. § 5 would then deal with oratory alone, § 6 with philosophy alone.

In what follows I shall be obliged, for lack of space, to omit, as a rule, the justification for the changes proposed in the limits of sections and chapters, or for suggestions that new paragraphs should be marked at different places.⁵

§ 8 should begin one sentence earlier, with *Ponere iubebam* . . ., two lines above. § 11 should begin where Chapter VI now begins, six lines above. § 13 should begin one sentence earlier, with *Non dico fortasse*. . ., two lines above, § 14 with *Quoniam me verbo premis*, six lines above. § 15 and Chapter VIII should begin with *Age, iam concedo*. . ., six lines above, § 16 with *Iam agnosco Graecum*, four lines above, § 17 with *Non postulo id quidem*. . ., four lines above.

⁵ In the rest of this paper I shall have before me constantly the edition of Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* I, III, V, by H. C. Nutting (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1909). The full, clear page makes this edition particularly available for the present purposes. I shall refer also, often, to the edition of Book 1, together with the *Somnium Scipionis*, by Frank Ernest Rockwood (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1903). Less often I shall refer to two editions of the complete work: that by Raphael Kühner (Hanover, 1874), and that by Gustav Tischer (eighth edition, by Gustav Sorof, Berlin, Weidmann, 1884).

Unless it is otherwise stated, all four editions require the corrections or improvements suggested here.

Chapter IX, which at present begins within § 17, should begin with *Mors igitur ipsa* . . . , where § 18 now begins, eight lines below. This marking would well differentiate the monologue that follows from the quasi-dialogue that has preceded.

§ 20 should begin where Chapter X now begins, with *Sed haec quidem*, six lines above.⁶ A new section, § 20 A, should be marked to begin with *Xenocrates* . . . , three lines below where § 20, at present, is marked to begin. As matters now stand, the account of Aristoxenus (seven lines in all) occupies the end of § 19 and the beginning of § 20.

A new section, § 22 A, should be marked to begin with *Nisi quae me forte fugiunt* . . . , the opening words of Chapter XI. A new paragraph⁷ might well begin here, rather than at *Cuperem equidem utrumque* . . . , nine lines below, as at present.

§ 24 should begin with *Quod malle te intellego* . . . , three lines above, § 27 with *Auctoribus quidem* . . . , five lines above. A new section, § 27 A, should be marked at *Itaque unum* . . . , the point at which § 27 now begins. Here the first historical argument begins. See Analysis B, (4), (1'), (α).

Chapter XIII should begin with § 30, twelve lines below where it now begins.

§ 37 should begin with *Quam eorum opinionem* . . . , one line above, § 38 with *Has tamen imagines* . . . , three lines above, § 39 with *Sed redeo ad antiquos* . . . , two lines above, at the point at which Chapter XVII begins.

A new section, § 41 A, should be marked at *Dicaearchum vero* . . . , where Chapter XVIII begins. § 42 should begin with *Is autem animus* . . . , three lines below. This marking would make §§ 42-43 a compact unit, dealing with the thought that, after death, the soul will mount to the fires that feed the stars. See Analysis, B, (4), (ε), 3, c.

§ 45 should begin with Chapter XX, five lines below, § 49 with *Nec tamen* . . . , four lines below, § 51 with *Mihi quidem* . . . , two lines below. Chapter XXIII should begin with *Sed si qualis sit animus* . . . , four lines above.

In Rockwood's edition § 62 begins with *Ex hacne tibi terrena* In Nutting it begins, rightly, with *quid*, one line above.⁸

⁶ Kühner so marks.

⁷ Because of lack of space, it will be feasible only occasionally to call attention to possible improvements in the paragraphing.

⁸In Kühner it begins with *aut qui primus*, one line below!

§ 67 should begin with *Ubi igitur . . . mens?*, two lines below. § 69 should begin with *tum globum*, seven lines above. A new section, § 69 A, should be marked as beginning at *tum multitudinem pecudum*, seven lines below the point at which § 69 now begins. By this arrangement § 69 would have to do, wholly, with the beauties of the earth, § 69 A with the *animalia* on the earth (including man).

§ 71 and Chapter XXIX should begin together, with *In quo igitur loco est?*, seven lines above. A new paragraph should begin here, not with § 71, as at present. A new section, § 71 A, should be marked to begin where § 71 now begins, with *In animi autem cognitione . . .*

Chapter XXX and § 72 should both begin with *His et talibus rationibus adductus*, eight lines above. Here begins the discussion of the moral consequences of a belief in immortality. See Analysis, B, (5).

Chapter XXXI and § 75 should begin with *Tota enim philosophorum vita . . .*, one line above.

§ 78 should begin with *Num non vis . . .*, three lines above, where Chapter XXXII begins. A paragraph should begin here. A new section, § 78 A, should be marked to begin with *Num quid igitur est causae . . .?*

Chapter XXXIII should begin with *Bene reprehendis . . .*, twelve lines above, with § 79, as marked in Nutting. In Kühner and in Rockwood, § 79 is marked as beginning one line lower, with *Cre-damus igitur Panaetio . . . ?* At this point (*Bene reprehendis*) begins the refutation of Panaetius's views. See Analysis, B, (6), (2').

§ 82 and Chapter XXXIV should both begin with *Sed quid agimus?*, six lines above. A new paragraph, too, should begin here, not, as at present, with § 82, as now marked.

Chapter XXXVI should begin where § 87 begins, with *Sed hoc ipsum concedatur . . .*, six lines below.⁹

Chapter XXXVIII should begin with *Natura vero si se sic habet . . .*, eight lines below. § 92 should begin at the same point, six lines above the point at which it is now marked to begin. Rockwood rightly makes a paragraph begin at the point where I would have Chapter XXXVIII and § 92 begin. Nutting wrongly makes paragraphs begin at §§ 91 and 92, as now marked.

⁹ Tischer-Sorof so mark.

In Nutting, § 94 begins, rightly, with *Eorum autem qui . . . fortuna laudatur*. In Kühner, Tischer-Sorof, and Rockwood it is marked, quite wrongly, to begin with the next sentence, one line below.

§ 97 begins quite rightly, in Nutting, with *Vadit . . . carcerem . . .*. In Kühner, Tischer-Sorof, and Rockwood it begins with the preceding sentence, one line above. Chapter XLI should begin with *Vadit . . . carcerem*, five lines above the point at which, at present, it begins. A new section, § 97 A, should begin where, at present, Chapter XLI begins, with "*Magna me*" inquit "*spes tenet . . .*" Kühner, Tischer-Sorof, and Rockwood wrongly make a new paragraph begin here.

Chapter XLII should begin with *Nos autem teneamus . . .*, five lines below, where § 100 begins. A new paragraph should begin here, not, as in Nutting and in Rockwood, at *Sed quid ego Socratem . . .*, five lines below.

§ 102 should begin with *Esto, fortes et duri Spartiatae . . .*, three lines below, where Chapter XLIII now begins. Chapter XLIII should begin with *Cuius hoc dicto admoneor . . .*, seven lines below. Nutting rightly marks a new paragraph here. Rockwood makes the paragraph begin with *Esto*.

§ 107 should begin with *Tenendum est igitur . . .*, one line below. § 109 should begin with *Sed profecto mors . . .*, two lines below, as in Nutting. Kühner, Tischer-Sorof, and Rockwood make it begin with *Quantum autem . . . sit . . .*, three lines above.

§ 111 should begin with *Secundis vero suis rebus . . .*, two lines above. A new section, § 111 A, should be marked to begin at *Ego autem tibi quidem. . .* Chapter XLVII should begin here, twelve lines above the point at which it now begins. Nutting rightly marks a new paragraph at the point where I would make § 111 A begin.

§ 112 should begin with *Num igitur . . . epilogum desideramus?*, five lines below. Chapter XLVIII should begin with § 113, rather than with *Adfertur etiam . . .*, in § 114, twenty-one lines below. A new section, § 114 A, should be marked to begin with *Adfertur etiam. . .*

Chapter XLIX should begin with *Quae cum ita sint . . .*, five lines below, at § 117.

A FRENCH SOURCE FOR JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD'S SYSTEM OF PSYCHOLOGY

By RUTH L. ANDERSON
University of Iowa

Among the somewhat unwieldy words of John Davies of Hereford, the two poems, *Mirum in Modum* and the *Microcosmos*,¹ have to do largely with the functioning of the soul. Courthope² and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*³ agree that Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*⁴ formed the basis of the first and that Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' *Semaines*⁵ provided a model for the "uninspired verse" of the second. In a recent article⁶ Professor Louis I. Bredvold attempts to show that *Nosce Teipsum* follows a French work written by Peter de la Primaudaye and translated into English by "T.B." in 1594 under the title, *The Second Part of the French Academie*. My purpose is to show that John Davies of Hereford drew his theory of the soul directly from La Primaudaye and that *Mirum in Modum* and the *Microcosmos* are much closer to *The French Academie* in both thought and language than is *Nosce Teipsum*. The evidence consists in numerous parallel passages, some of which I shall quote in detail or cite by reference.

Consider first descriptions of the internal senses. After a brief account of "the *Imaginative vertue*,"⁷ "the powre Fantasticall"⁸

¹ *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, 2 vols., A. B. Grosart, ed., 1878. Vol. I.

² *A History of English Poetry*, III, 124-125.

³ IV, 151.

⁴ *The Works in Verse and Prose, of Sir John Davies*, 3 vols., A. B. Grosart, ed., 1869. I, 39-162.

⁵ *The Complete Works of Joshua Sylvester*, 2 vols., A. B. Grosart, ed., 1880. Vol. I.

⁶ "The Sources Used by Davies in 'Nosce Teipsum'," *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 745-769.

⁷ La Primaudaye, *The French Academie. Fully Discoursed and finished in foure Bookes*. London, 1618, pp. 409-410. Unless otherwise indicated my references are all to this edition rather than to the edition of 1594. The translation is the same.

⁸ *Mirum in Modum*, p. 6.

which, as the eye of the soul, receives impressions from the outer senses, and thus knows things that are absent as well as that which is present, La Primaudaye and John Davies of Hereford name the receptive faculty of the mind common sense and reserve the term imagination, or fantasy, for the power which elaborates ideas. When two writers hold orthodox views as to any psychological function or faculty, identity in thought can hardly be accepted as a trustworthy indication of borrowing. In the following passages, dealing with common-sense and imagination, one should note, therefore, not so much parallels in thought as similarities in diction:

The Common sense is so called, because it is the first of all the internall senses of which we are to speake, as also the Prince & Lord of all the externall senses, who are his messengers and seruants to minister and make relation unto him of things in common. For it receiueth all the images and shapes that are offered and brought vnto it by them, yea all the kinds and resemblances of materiall things, which they haue receiued only from without, as a glasse doth: and al this for no other cause, but that they should discerne and seuer euery thing according to it owne nature & propertie, and afterward communicate them to the internall senses. . . . Wee must then obserue, that the externall senses haue no iudgement of that which they outwardly receiue but by meanes of the common sense, unto which they make relation and then that iudgeth: so that they ende where that beginneth.

Moreouer this facultie of the fantasie is sudden, & so farre from stayednes, that euen in the time of sleep it hardly taketh any rest, but is alway occupied in dreaming & doting, yea euen about those things neuer haue bin, shalbe, or can be. For it stayeth not in that which is shewed unto it by the senses that serue it, but taketh what pleaseth it, and addeth thereunto or diminisheth, changeth and rechangeth, mingleth and unminglet, so that it cutteth asunder and seweth up againe as it listeth. So that there is nothing but the fantasie will imagine and counterfaite, if it haue any matter and foundation to worke upon. . . .⁹

With the two passages compare the following from *Mirum in Modum*:

The *Common-sence* (whose locall scituation,
The *Fore head* holdeth hath that name assign'd:
Because it first takes common information
Of all the outward *Sences* in their kinde.
Ordain'd to sort and seuer eu'ry thing,
According to its nature properly;
Which th' outward *Sences* to this *Sence* doe bring,
And then transmitteth it successiue,
To each more inward *Sences* faculty.

The outward *Sences* then, cannot discern,
What they doe apprehend but by this *Sence*,
Of which those *Sences* all their science learne:
And vnto which their skill haue reference,

⁹ The above passages, which I find it convenient to insert from Professor Bredvold's transcription (*loc. cit.*, pp. 753-754), may be found, together with a fuller account of the internal senses, on pp. 414ff. of the 1618 edition. Cf. especially pp. 417-418 (memory) and *Mirum in Modum*, p. 9.

As it referres all to th' *Intelligence*,
 Making a through-fare of the *Fantacie*,
 Which doth so forme reforme, and it deforms,
 As pleaseth hir fantasticke faculty;
 Not pleased with what the common Sence informes,
 But in the *Minde* makes calmes, or stirreth Stormes.

This *Pow'r* is pow'refull yet is most vnstaid;
 Shee resteth not, though *Sleepe* the *Corpes* arrest:
 She doates, and dreames, and makes the *Minde* afraide,
 With visions vaine, wherewith she is oppress.
 And from things likely, things vnlikely wrest:
 She is the *Ape* of *Nature*, which can doe,
 By imitation what she doth indeed,
 And if shee haue hir Patterns adde therto
 A thousand toyes which in hir Bowells breede:
 Without which patterns, she cannot proceede.¹⁰

Essentially the same thought appears in *Nosce Teipsum* and in various other writings of the period, for the psychology expressed here is orthodox Elizabethan theory. A comparison of the passages quoted above, however, will show that John Davies of Hereford not only uses the same details that La Primaudaye uses but presents them in the same order. Verbal similarities, although by no means so striking as in some other places, are frequent. Note, for example, such expressions as "seuer eu'ry thing," "according to its nature properly," "vnstaid," and "doates, and dreames." Particularly close resemblances in thought and in phraseology will be found in the following parallels. The first has to do with reason:

In the minde of man there shineth alwaies this naturall light that is giuen unto him aboue that which beasts haue, I mean Reason, which serueth to guide the soule and spirite amidst the darknesse of errour and ignorance, to the ende they may be able to discerne trueth from falsehood, and the true Good from the false, as wee see the light serueth the eyes to keep us, and to cause us to see in darknesse. Therefore we sayde before, that there was a double discourse of reason in man; whereof the one is Theoricall and Speculatiue, which hath Trueth for his ende, and hauing found it goeth no farther. The other is Practical, hauing Good for his end, which being found it stayeth not there, but passeth forward to the Will, which God hath ioined unto it, to the end it should loue, desire and follow the Good, and Contrariwise hate, eschew and turne away from euill. . . . Imagination and fantasie, being neerer to the corporall senses, draw the soule to those things that are bodily: but the reason and the spirite pricke it forward, and cause it to lift up it selfe to more excellent things. For the spirite (which the Philosophers expresse by Understanding) mounteth up unto those things that cannot be known nor comprehended of imagination and fantasie, nor of any sense.¹¹

Thus *Reason* in the *Soule* is as hir eye,
 Wherewith she see'th the well linckt chaine of *Causes*,
 And vseth euery *Sences* facultie,
 To find what is included in their clauses,

¹⁰ *Mirum in Modum*, pp. 7-8.

¹¹ *French Academie*, 1594, pp. 171-172; quoted by Bredvold, *loc. cit.*, p. 755.

Yet cannot lift her lowly looke so hie,
 Without re'nforcing of hir sight by pauses:
 For since darke *Sinne* ecliptst hir natie light,
 She see'th but by degrees, and not out-right. . . .

Thus *Reasons* reach is high and most profound,
 Whose deep discourse is two-fold, which depends,
 On *Speculation*, and on *Practise* sound;
 The first hath *Truth*, the last hath *Good* for ends;
 The *Speculation* rests when *Truth* is found.
 But *Practise*, when that *Good* it apprehends,
 It staies not there, but to the *Will* proceedes,
 And with that *Good* the *Will* it freely feeds. . . .

Yet this breeds 'bate twixt *Reas'n* and *Fantacie*:
 For *Fantacie* beeing neere the outward *Sences*,
 Allures the *Soule* to loue things bodily;
 But *Reason* mounts to higher *Excellences*,
 And moves the *spirit* her nimble wings to trie,
 In pursuite of diuine *intelligences*,
 Who in the iawes of *Fantacie* doth set
 A Snaffle to o're-rule her wilde coruet.¹²

If one places beside these stanzas Sir John Davies' description of reason, the dependence of *Mirum in Modum* upon *The French Academie* rather than upon *Nosce Teipsum* becomes obvious immediately:

The Wit, the pupill of the Soule's cleare eye,
 And in man's world, the onely shining starre;
 Lookes in the mirror of the Fantasie,
 Where all the gatherings of the Senses are.

From thence this power the shapes of things abstracts,
 And them within her passiuie part receiues;
 Which are enlightned by that part which acts,
 And so the formes of single things perceiues.

But after, by discoursing to and fro,
 Anticipating, and comparing things;
 She doth all universall natures know,
 And all effects into their causes brings.

When she rates things and moues from ground to ground,
 The name of Reason she obtaines by this:
 But when by Reason she the truth hath found,
 And standeth fixt, she VNDERSTANDING is. . . .¹³

Another parallel deals with varying degrees of knowledge:

. . . we are now to obserue and note this, that the knowledge of things which we haue by the outward senses, is as if wee beheld the shadowes of them: and that knowledge which we haue by the common sence, by Imagination and Fantasie, is as if we did lokke vpon the images which represent vnto vs those things whereof they are images more liuely and cleerely then their

¹² *Mirum in Modum*, pp. 9-10.

¹³ *Nosce Teipsum*, loc. cit., pp. 116-117.

shadowes can doe. And the knowledge we haue by vnderstanding . . . is as if we viewed not onely the shadowes or images of things, but also their very bodies, which is more. And that knowledge which we haue by reason is as if, besides all this, we saw their effects and vertues: Therefore there is as much difference betweene the knowledge that a man may haue by euery one of these faculties and powers, as there is betwixt the shadowe, and image, and body, and effects or vertues of one and the same thing, to the end that the nature thereof may be thoroughly knowne.¹⁴

John Davies of Hereford very clearly follows La Primaudaye:

The iudgement which the outward *Sences* giue,
Is eu'n as if we saw the shade of things,
And what we from the *Fantacie* receiue,
Is as it were their liuely picturings.
The *Intellect* (which seldome doth deceiue)
Doth shew the substance of those shadowings:
But that which *Reas'n* presenteth to the *Minde*,
Is their effects and virtues in their kinde.¹⁵

Borrowing is equally obvious in the *Microcosmos*. The extent to which the poem depends upon *The French Academie* is particularly evident in descriptions of the affections. Both writers divide them into those which go before judgment and those which follow after it. The two passages, of which I quote only a part, show many similarities in diction:

Notwithstanding it is true, that the heart is not moued before there hath beene some iudgement to determine, whether that which is then offred vnto it be good or euill. But because the motions of our spirit and minde are very light and sodaine, and neede not so long time, as otherwise is requisite for vs if we will take good heed to our matters, hereof it is that they seeme to vs many times to prevent and go before iudgment is giuen, when indeed they follow it.¹⁶

Yet true it is that *Hart* cannot be mov'd,
Ere *Iudgment* doomes what's good or badd for it;
Then *Harte's* desires by her must be approv'd,
Or els the *Hart* cannot desire a whit:
For what she holds vnmeet, *it* thinks vnfit.
But for the *motions* of the *Minde* are free,
And neede not stay, as it is requisit,
So before *Iudgment* doe they seeme to *Bee*,
Although they follow her as *bond* and *free*.¹⁷

Further resemblances will appear in the following passages:

And as the affections are quickly bred one of another, so some of them are bridled & restrained by others . . . great ioy is lessened through grieffe, and enuy through mercy, or through feare. And one grieffe altereth another, when it is greater: and feare maketh grieffe to be forg[o]tten, and causeth the lame to runne. To be short, these sundry motions of affections are like to stormy waues and billowes, which being driuen one of another, doe either augment or

¹⁴ *French Academie*, p. 418.

¹⁵ *Mirum in Modum*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *French Academie*, p. 454.

¹⁷ *Microcosmos*, p. 30.

diminish, or wholly oppresse one another. Wherefore the like happeneth in the motion of our affections, that commeth to passe in a sedition and ciuill dissention, in which no man considereth who is the worthier person to obey and follow him, but who is the stronger and most mightie. So in the fight of the affections there is no respect had to that which is most iust, but onely to that which is strongest and most violent, and which hath gotten such power ouer the soule that it hath wholly subdued her to it selfe which thing we ought to stand in feare of.¹⁸

And, as *Affections* one another breede,
By one another so are they restrain'd:
Ioy woundeth *Griefe*, & *Griefe* makes *Ioy* to bleede;
And so the rest are by the rest refrain'd,
As by the *Stronger* the *weaker* are constrain'd:
As when curst *Thetis* chiding knitts the Brow,
Her *Billowes* proud, that either's pride disdaineth,
Thrusts out each other: So, when *Passions* flow,

The *greater* doe the *lesser* overthrow.
And oft it fares in our *Minde's* Common-weale,
As in a *Ciuill-warre* the case doth stande;
Where no *mann's* careful of his *Countrie's* heale,
Or who of right should al the rest commaund,
But follow him that hath the strongest hand:
So, in *Affection's* sight ther's no respect
To the *Minde's* good, or how it should be scand,
But (inconsiderate) they both reiect,
And doe as strongest *Passion* doth direct.¹⁹

There is nothing in *Nosce Teipsum* from which John Davies of Hereford could have derived these stanzas. Phraseology, as well as thought, points unmistakably to *The French Academie*.

A more striking situation arises when we consider cases in which La Primaudaye and John Davies of Hereford agree in presenting doctrines or details not elsewhere found in the works of their contemporaries. Take this, for instance, from La Primaudaye. It is a description of the animal virtue, a faculty of the soul which resides in the brain:

. . . . it is diuided into 3. Kindes: the first is called *Principal*, the second *Sensitive*, the third *Motive*. The Principall is diuided by some into three kinds, by others into fiew. They which make fiew sortes, distinguish betweene the common sense, the imagination, and the fantasie, making them three: and for the fourth they adde *Reason*, or the iudging faculty: and for the fift, *Memorie*. They that make but three kinds differ not from the other, but onely in that they comprehend all the former three vnder the common sence, or vnder one of the twaine, whether it be the other imagination or the fantasie. As for the *Sensitive* facultie, it comprehendeth the vertues of the fiew corporall senses. . . . As for the *Motive* vertue, it comprehendeth the moouing of all the outward parts of the body from one place to another. . . .²⁰

¹⁸ *French Academie*, p. 465.

¹⁹ *Microcosmos*, pp. 39-40. Cf. respectively *Microcosmos* and *French Academie*, pp. 25-26 and 441 ff.; 30 and 455; 35 and 455; 39 and 463; 73 and 496-497.

²⁰ *French Academie*, p. 401.

This identical classification and description of the powers arising from the animal virtue I have not found elsewhere, except in John Davies of Hereford's brief treatment of the soul,

Wherein three *Faculties* still working be,
Animall, Vitall, and the Naturall:
 The *Animall* diuided is in three,
Motive, Sensitive, and Principall.
 The *Principall* hath three parts speciall,
Imagination, Reason, Memory.
 The power *Sensitive* includes the powres
 Of the externall *Senses* seu'rally.
 The *Motive* powre, the Corps to stirre procures,
 As long as *Vitall* faculty indures.²¹

Compare also the lines:

Imagination, Fancie, Common-sence,
 In nature brooketh oddes or vnion,
 Some makes them one, and some makes difference,
 But wee will vse them with distinction,
 With sence to shunne the *Sence* confusion.²²

In the psychological treatises of the Renaissance are three principal views regarding the relation of the powers of thought to the brain. Certain writers, including Sir John Davies,²³ call common sense, imagination or fantasy, and memory the inner senses and assign each to a separate cell of the organ. Others oppose localization.²⁴ La Primaudaye and John Davies of Hereford place common sense, imagination, and fantasy—three powers or one—in the foremost, reason in the middle, and memory in the hindmost ventricle.²⁵ The former describes reason as a power which judges without appeal; apparently he follows his contemporaries in attributing the faculty to man's noblest nature, the rational "soul." Most writers do not make the highest forms of apprehension dependent upon any particular part of the brain.²⁶

²¹ *Mirum in Modum*, p. 6.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²³ *Nosce Teipsum*, loc. cit., pp. 110ff.

²⁴ *Vide* John Huarte, *Examen de Ingenios*, translated into English by "R. C." from an Italian translation, London, 1596, pp. 51 ff.; Charron, *Of Wisdom*, 3 bks, George Stanhope tr., London, 1697. Bk. I, p. 111.

²⁵ *French Academie*, pp. 414 and 416-417; *Mirum in Modum*, p. 7.

²⁶ It is probable that this localization of reason, together with the entire description of the animal virtue as given by La Primaudaye and John Davies of Hereford, may be traced to Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Batman, in his translation of the work, divides the animal virtue into three parts, ordinative, sensitive, and motive, which correspond apparently to

Here, then, is a difference between La Primaudaye and Sir John Davies. The latter holds the more commonly accepted notion that reason is not localized in its operation. Whereas the French author confines in the forepart of the brain common-sense, imagination, and fantasy and separates the function of common-sense from that of the other two, which he says need not be distinguished, Sir John Davies makes synonymous the terms common-sense and imagination, and assigns fantasy to the middle cell.²⁷

Professor Bredvold has pointed out that Sir John Davies describes an intellectual memory not mentioned by La Primaudaye.²⁸ It should be noted also that the two authors differ in their classification of the passions. *Nosce Teipsum* presents a six-fold division;²⁹ *The French Academie*³⁰ and the *Microcosmos*³¹ make only a four-fold division. These differences should be considered in any final

the principal, the sensitive, and the motive virtues of which La Primaudaye writes. Of the first Batman says:

"That part that is named *Ordinativua*, fulfilleth the brayne by it selfe alone. For in the first part in the formost chamber it ordeineth the fantasie or imagination: in the middle chamber it ordeineth the vertue estimatiue and reason. And againe in the uttermost chamber it maketh perfect the memorie, and the memorial acte " (*Batman vppon Bartholome, His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*, London, 1582. Bk. III, ch. 16). In Bk. III, ch. 10, he states that the "reason sensible or verture *Estimatiua*" is master of the middle cell, *Logica*.

²⁷ *Nosce Teipsum*, loc. cit., pp. 110-11.

²⁸ "Davies' Sources for 'Nosce Teipsum,' " loc. cit., p. 768.

²⁹ loc. cit., p. 113.

³⁰ Bk. I, ch. 3.

³¹ P. 27. Again there is a suggestion of Batman. Compare the following passages, quoted respectively from Batman (*op. cit.*, Bk. III, ch. 6) and from John Davies of Hereford (*Microcosmos*, loc. cit., p. 27):

" . . . it [soul] hath three manner of vertues, one is *Racionalis*, whereby it taketh heede to the thing that is true: The other is called *Concupiscibilis*, whereby it taketh heed to the thing that is good, the third is called *Irascibilis*, and thereby it taketh heed to the thing that is great and huge, and to the thing that is euerlasting. In the *Rationali* is knowledge of the truth, in *Concupiscibili*, wil and desire of good thing: in *Irascibili* is flight of contrary, that is, of euill. . . . All the wits come of that vertue *Rational* and apprehensiuue. All affections and desire, of *Concupiscibili* and *Irascibili*. Which affections bee foure, that is to say, Ioy, Hope, Dreade and Sorrowe."

"For three *Powres* speciall in the Soule reside,
Reason, Concupiscence, and ardent Ire,
The first, to *Truthe's* obscure abiding guides;
The second, *good-things* gladly doth desire;
The third, doth from the contrarie retire:
In bowells of the first the *Wits* are bred;
Th' *Affectes* are forg'd in both the others' fire;
In nomber fowre, *Ioy, Hope, Sorow, and Dread*,
Which from the last *powres* spring, as from their head."

conclusion regarding the dependence of *Nosce Teipsum* upon *The French Academie*.

The latter work and the *Microcosmos* include a description of the sensitive appetite which differs in some respects from that given by other writers. According to La Primaudaye there are two kinds:

For either it is made with touching, or without touching. Pleasure and grieve belong properly to the first kinde, and the instruments and seates thereof are in the sinewes, or els in that small sinewy skinne, which giueth the sense. For those things delight the sinewes which agree with their nature, and looke what is contrary vnto them, the same affecteth them with grieve, which tendeth to their destruction, as delight procureth their preseruacion.

The kind which is made with touch has no part in will or in imagination:

For whether he will or no, he shall be subiect to hunger & thirst, and shall in the same maner feel things as they are applyed vnto him, if he be so disposed in body as he ought to be.

The affections that are bred without touch reside in the heart. They "follow knowledge, and either seeke after or reiect, that which is offered vnto them."³² John Davies of Hereford agrees with La Primaudaye in thought and in language:

The *sensitiue desire* is two-fold too,
From *sense* the *first*, the last comes not that way,
The first, to *ioy* and *griefe* is fixed so,
That no *force* can it from the same vndoe

For in the *sinewes* (*Feeling's* instruments)
This *pow'r* is plac'd, or in the *Synewy skin*:
And that the *Synewes* ioyes, or discontents,
That wel, or ill, affecteth them within:
By *heate*, or *cold*, they *paine*, or *pleasure* wyn,
As they to them are wel, or ill applied.
For *sense* and *motion* synewes made haue bin
That by them *paine* or *pleasure* should be tride,
And make our *Bodies* moue on ev'ry side.

Nor doe these *Appetites* wait on the *will*,
Ne from the *Phantazie* doe they proceede,
For wil we, nil, we, we shal hunger stil,
When *food's* with-drawn, that should our *Bodies* feed;
And we shall feelee what *sense* affects with speede,
How ere the *wil* or *Phantazy* impung;
We may abstaine from *nurrishment* in deede,
But then thereby much more for it we long,
And *Flesh* wil pine with *paine*, if hunger-stung.

But th'other *Appetites* bredd without *touch*,
Are forged by the *thoughts* or *Phantazie*;
These, discrete *Nature* in the *hart* doth couch,
Which be *Affectes* that lurke in secesie,

³² *French Academie*, p. 349.

Be'ng *motions* of the *harte's Hart* properlie:
 These wait on *witt*, and choose or else reiect
 What it holds deerest, or doth most defie;
 So *Witt's* the *cause*, and they are the *effect*,
 That loue, or loath, as *witt* doth them direct.³³

It will be obvious at a glance that the resemblances between La Primaudaye and John Davies of Hereford are much closer than those cited by Professor Bredvold between La Primaudaye and Sir John Davies. It cannot of course be said definitely that Sir John Davies did not borrow from La Primaudaye; but, in the main, the resemblances between them are in those general points of the psychology of the age which may be found in much the same form in the writings of various authors. The connection between *Mirum in Modum* and the *Microcosmos*, on the one hand, and the translation of *The French Academie*, on the other, is so immediate in arrangement, substance, and language that we may be sure that we have found in La Primaudaye's work an actual source for the two poems of John Davies of Hereford. *Mirum in Modum* and the *Microcosmos* supplement each other in that they give a complete system of Elizabethan psychology, and this system, in details as well as in fundamental theory, was derived from *The French Academie*. Whether the poems are original in other respects I have made no attempt to discover.

³³ *Microcosmos*, p. 24.

TARTUFFE AGAIN

By ELLIOTT M. GRANT
Smith College

A number of recent publications testify to the vitality of Molière's masterpiece *Tartuffe*. In the *Revue hebdomadaire* for January 10, 1925, M. Arnavon published an amazing article on "Qui était Tartuffe et d'où venait-il?" M. Baumal added *Tartuffe et ses Avatars*¹ to his group of studies on Molière. Professor Charlier somewhat earlier, in 1923, learnedly and brilliantly discussed what he conceived to be *Le premier "Tartuffe."*² And not long since, Professor Michaud treated divers problems connected with the play in the *Revue des Cours et Conférences*³ and, in more detail, in his *Luttes de Molière*.⁴

It is not necessary to take too seriously the work of M. Arnavon and M. Baumal. The former, indeed, is the victim of an amusing hallucination. Tartuffe, in his eyes, is an agent of the secret police and has wormed his way into Orgon's confidence for the express purpose of obtaining evidence of political machinations. Orgon had a political past, says M. Arnavon, that rendered him an object of suspicion.⁵ Unfortunately, an examination of the text discloses the fact that this political past was highly favorable and accounts in great part for the clemency shown by the king in nullifying the famous "donation." We refer M. Arnavon to verses 181-2 and 1937-1944. M. Arnavon's belief that Tartuffe is from Normandy is no better founded than this fanciful identification of the hypocrite with the royal police.

M. Baumal's work is not quite in the same category. He brings forward some curious and amusing documents to support his contentions. But his enthusiasm leads him to attribute a really excessive importance to his "discoveries." He traces for us the

¹Published by E. Nourry, Paris, 1925.

²Published by Champion, Paris, 1923.

³April 30 and May 15, 1925.

⁴Hachette, Paris, 1925.

⁵M. Arnavon's work on the *mise en scène* in Molière's plays is interesting and on the whole solid. See *Notes sur l'Interprétation de Molière*, Paris, Plon, 1923.

activities of a certain barber by the name of Jacques Cretenet. They are, without any doubt, in some respects tartuffian. But that does not justify M. Baumal in concluding that this exceptional citizen of Lyons is inevitably the original of Molière's *Tartuffe*. The documents in question, interesting in themselves, establish no clear connection between Molière's play and the saintly barber. To illustrate, we are told that a pamphlet published in Lyons with the intent to ridicule Cretenet is of great significance:

En dépit de la vulgarité du ton et de la platitude du style, il faut citer le texte entier de cette pièce capitale dont chaque vers devrait être confronté avec le texte de *Tartuffe*.⁶

The following couplet is italicized by M. Baumal:

De l'enfer souvent parleras
Pour luy troubler l'entendement;

But that is merely what any *dévo*t would do. We see here no proof that Cretenet is *Tartuffe*. Again, M. Baumal underlines the following verses:

Bien moins les tiens allieras
A qui de méditer n'apprend.

He adds a footnote that this recalls Orgon's project of marrying Mariane to *Tartuffe*. But any "right-thinking," devout father would naturally prefer to see his daughter married to a devout man. Once more we find no proof that Cretenet is *Tartuffe*.

Professors Charlier and Michaud bring to the already numerous studies on *Tartuffe* hypotheses built on fact and erudition. Their opinions are worthy of the most serious consideration. Both critics set themselves to solve the problem of the character of the 1664 version. Did Molière give only the first three acts of the play? Or, as Michelet suggested, was the play given at Versailles a complete play in three acts? M. Charlier supports the first conclusion, M. Michaud the second. They differ, moreover, in their description of these acts. M. Charlier, basing his theory on the modifications that the play underwent—modifications admitted by Molière in his second *Placet* and others suggested by a comparison of the *Lettre sur l'Imposteur* and the 1669 text—believes that in 1664 *Tartuffe* was a priest. Consequently, there could be no question of marriage between him and Mariane. The first version, how-

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 72. The title of the text in question is: "Instruction du Directeur Général aux Femmes Mariées de la Caballe."

ever, still showed Tartuffe trying to seduce Elmire and bringing about the painful quarrel between Orgon and his son. The unmasking of Tartuffe belonged also to the original version. But the dénouement may have been different.

There are serious objections to this hypothesis. The first is that suggested by M. Michaud:

Quoique l'on ait soutenu, je ne puis croire que Molière ait eu l'audace folle de mettre sur les tréteaux un véritable directeur de conscience, un prêtre, pour lui faire jouer un rôle aussi abominable. Songeons qu'on évite alors au théâtre de prononcer le mot *Dieu*, on dit: *le ciel* ou *les dieux*; on évite le mot *église* lui-même, on dit: *temple*. Et, en pleine cour, Molière aurait exposé à la haine et à la dérision, dans l'exercice même de son ministère un homme revêtu des ordres sacrés? Et le roi l'aurait toléré, lui qui va céder aux objurgations de l'archevêque de Paris? Et surtout il aurait offert, ou plutôt imposé par surprise, un tel spectacle à la reine-mère? C'est impossible.⁷

M. Michaud's criticism is, indeed, well founded. One cannot imagine Molière risking anything so foolhardy. Nor can one imagine Molière doing the still more foolhardy thing of dropping the curtain on Tartuffe's victory. To make him a priest seems already impossible. To show the public a priest apparently successful in his pursuit of Elmire is simply unthinkable.

M. Michaud's own theories are impressive. His manner of presentation is convincing for he seems to advance nothing but facts. It is only on reflection that one realizes just how great a portion of M. Michaud's argument is in reality ingenious hypothesis. In order to discard the assumption that Molière presented only the first three acts on May 12, 1664, M. Michaud claims (1) that all statements to that effect (except LaGrange's in his *Registre*) are posterior to 1665 and that consequently people referring to the earlier version spoke of it as the first three acts because that version contained on the whole the same subject matter as the first three acts of the five-act play. LaGrange's statement, though earlier, is to be explained in the same way, for LaGrange was in Molière's confidence and knew that he was going to lengthen and change his play. (2) Many texts, the minutes of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, *La Gazette* of May 17, Roullé's *Le Roi glorieux*, and Molière's first *Placet*,—all refer to the original performance as *une comédie* or *une pièce* and do not use the phraseology *trois premiers actes*. (3) It is not Molière's habit to present incomplete plays; he finished *La Princesse d'Elide* in prose rather than not

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

complete it. (4) If Molière had written five acts, he would not have been so stupid as to stop at the end of the third with *Tartuffe* triumphant. (5) Molière has nowhere said that in 1664 he gave only the first three acts. Were it true, he would inevitably have said so in defense. He would have protested against the suppression of an incomplete play. This reason, says Michaud, is *décisif* and conclusive.

Let us examine these arguments. The first is only an hypothesis. M. Michaud's wish, we fear, is father to his thought. We must point out that in the case of La Grange he not only made the statement in his *Registre* but also took the pains to repeat explicitly in the 1682 edition, knowing full well how bitter the quarrel over *Tartuffe* had been and consequently having every reason to be accurate, that Molière gave *les trois premiers actes* on May 12, 1664, and that he gave *les mêmes trois premiers actes* at Villers-Cotterets on Sept. 25, 1664. We do not see how it is possible to overlook these definite statements. The second argument, while valid, is not at all decisive. The third is weak. After all, it is not impossible for Molière to have done something he had not done before. The following argument is reasonable, provided that Molière had already written the last two acts; but suppose he had not. The last, which M. Michaud calls "*décisif*," is, indeed, weighty. Unfortunately we see a grave objection to it. In 1667, after the suppression of *l'Imposteur*, Molière addressed a second *Placet* to the king. He specifies the precautions he has taken:

En vain je l'ai produite sous le titre de l'Imposteur, et déguisé le personnage sous l'ajustement d'un homme du monde; j'ai eu beau lui donner un petit chapeau, de grands cheveux, un grand collet, une épée, et des dentelles sur tout l'habit, mettre en plusieurs endroits des adoucissements, et retrancher avec soin tout se que j'ai jugé capable de fournir l'ombre d'un prétexte aux célèbres originaux du portrait que je voulais faire: tout cela n'a de rien servi.

Nowhere does he speak of a still more important change, nowhere does he say that he has transformed the plot. M. Michaud maintains that the play in three acts was inevitably different from the 1669 play, that it ended with the triumph of *Tartuffe*. Were that so, Molière would certainly have added this argument to the others, for it would be the most impressive. He would have said, "I even changed my play so that my scoundrel was finally unmasked and punished, and yet, in spite of that, my play has been suppressed." But he said nothing of the sort and his silence is eloquent; at least as eloquent as that silence invoked by M. Michaud to prove that

the 1664 version was complete and not, as most critics think, incomplete.

What then are we to conclude? We agree with M. Michaud that it is strange that Molière should have put on only three acts, and that Louis XIV should have forbidden a play, only part of which had been produced. But in view of La Grange's deliberate statements and in the absence of any real proof to the contrary, we see no other possible conclusion. This does not mean that the three acts given on May 12, 1664, were necessarily the same as the first three of the 1669 text. Undoubtedly there were differences. Undoubtedly the rôle of Cléante was considerably restricted. Possibly the scene of the *dépit amoureux* was lacking. Perhaps even,—though we doubt it—,Tartuffe appeared in the second act.⁸ We can form many hypotheses, but we shall never, alas! know with certainty exactly what was enacted at Versailles on that fateful day of May.

Since M. Michaud's arguments to prove that the 1664 version was complete in three acts have not been found valid, it is really useless to follow the details of his description of that hypothetical play. It may have existed, but there is not the slightest proof of it. We shall be on more solid ground if we examine M. Michaud's discussion of Molière's purpose in composing the *Tartuffe*.

Stated briefly, our learned critic's position is that Molière was not attacking the Jansenists, or the Jesuits, or even the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement de l'autel. Nor was he attacking the Christian religion. M. Michaud is thus from one point of view or another in disagreement with M. Lacour, Sainte-Beuve, M. Allier, M. Baumal, M. Rigal, M. Mornet, Brunetière, and Jules Lemaître. His isolation, of course, does not imply that he is wrong. In fact, we feel that he is not far from right. We agree thoroughly that Molière was not aiming at the Jansenists or the Jesuits. At the most, he was indulging, *en passant*, in a little fling at their expense. To elevate Mme. Pernelle's *rigorisme* into a general satire of the Jansenists is absurd, just as it is absurd to see in Molière an enemy of the Jesuits because of the famous passage containing Tartuffe's *casuisme accommodant* (vv. 1485-1492). We agree also that Molière was not attacking the Christian religion. In the first place, he

⁸ Prof. Lancaster comes to much the same conclusion in the *Mod. Lang. Journal*, "The Tercentary of Molière (1921-1922): its Contribution to Scholarship," Nov. 1923. His discussion is provoked by a different thesis, however, that of Prof. Morf's in "Molière's Hoffestspiel vom Tartuffe (1664)," *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen*, Berlin, 1922.

would not have dared to do so. Molière, like his illustrious predecessors Rabelais and Montaigne, was willing to go *jusques au feu exclusivement*. It will be recalled, moreover, that Brunetière supported⁹ his argument by claiming that Orgon is really the principal character of the play, and that Orgon, the sincere *dévo*t, is ridiculed. But as M. Michaud points out, Orgon is ridiculous not because of his religious zeal, but because of his amazing credulity. It is not, therefore, justifiable to utilize Orgon to prove that Molière was attacking sincere religious sentiments.

M. Michaud's rejection of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement as a possible object of Molière's satire appears to the present writer as at least open to question. The problem is complicated because of the distinction that M. Michaud makes between the 1664 version and the play of 1667 and 1669. The original version, he thinks, had no other aim than that of providing amusement:

. . . il [Molière] y avait *peint* un hypocrite, un imposteur, sans aucune intention agressive contre qui que ce soit, jésuites, jansénistes, Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, dévots rigoristes ou simples dévots, et hypocrites mêmes. Quel était son but? de faire rire, tout simplement.¹⁰

On the other hand, in 1669 Molière had reasons for changing the tone of his play. He was then defending himself and to defend he attacked. He attacked when he gave to the rôle of Cléante the lines condemning the *dévots de place* who are mixed up in intrigues and *cabales*. Whom then was he attacking? M. Michaud does not tell us very clearly; he merely says that Molière attacked in 1669 the people who had attacked him:

Ceux qui ont combattu le *Tartuffe*, ce sont des Tartuffes. Et dans sa rédaction définitive, il (Molière) les a peints et dénoncés comme tels.¹¹

This sounds very much like an admission that in 1669 Molière was directly attacking the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, for there can be no doubt, as M. Allier has clearly proved,¹² that the Compagnie had attacked *Tartuffe*.

Of course, if the 1664 version was not a complete one, much of M. Michaud's theory cannot be supported. Not accepting the

⁹ *Etudes critiques*, IV, "La Philosophie de Molière."

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹² *La Cabale des dévots*, 1902. See also *Rev. de Genève*, "Le Problème de Tartuffe," Jan. 1921. In this article M. Allier modifies slightly but not fundamentally his original thesis.

thesis that the first *Tartuffe* was a complete play, we are forced to reject M. Michaud's ingenious distinction between Molière's aims in 1664 and those he held in 1669. But we do so for another reason as well. If Molière is attacking the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, and we believe that at least he had them in mind as the most notorious examples of puritanical *dévots*, he is doing so not merely in Cléante's speeches but also in his portrayal of Tartuffe. Tartuffe, after all, is the chief character of the play. He is the person that Cléante is describing when he talks of the *faux dévots* whom he distinguishes from the sincere. Tartuffe is the living, concrete example; he is the real thing. If, then, Molière is attacking, Tartuffe is and must be the main instrument of attack. Now whether Molière gave the first three acts in 1664 or a complete play in three acts, Tartuffe is essentially the same character that he is in 1669. Hence if Molière is attacking in 1669 he was attacking in 1664. There is no other conclusion.

In 1669, it is true, Molière tried to clarify matters in the speeches of Cléante. He had been accused of assailing religious sincerity as well as religious hypocrisy. So he tells us explicitly through the mouth of Cléante that the accusation is not true. He insists upon this fact; he repeats it again and again. And then he does an extraordinary thing. He gives a definition of the sincere *dévo*t that is amazingly revealing. In the passage that extends from line 382 to 402, the implication of which has escaped most critics, Molière says that the true *dévots* are those who do not try to impose their views and their own manner of life on others: *On les voit, pour tous soins, se mêler de bien vivre*. With the result that by implication the question of sincerity fades into the background. The Puritan who wants to enforce a certain standard of conduct may be sincere; he may be quite disinterested. But for Molière he is none the less odious, because he is intolerant. And here we have, apart from Tartuffe himself, the most likely allusion, or rather analogy to the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. Rightly or wrongly, it had acquired the reputation of interfering in the lives of other people, of trying to enforce its own standard of morals. Tartuffe also. Tartuffe takes a keener interest in Elmire's conduct than does her husband. He tries to impose his own views of conduct upon Orgon's household.

S'il le faut écouter et croire à ses maximes,
On ne peut faire rien qu'on ne fasse des crimes;
Car il contrôle tout, ce critique zélé.

Tartuffe is a hypocrite, obviously. Thus the concrete case modifies the more general thesis that in the warmth of Cléante's indignation had slipped into his words.

Molière's *Tartuffe* is then a satire on religious hypocrisy. It is also a plea for tolerance. Is it specifically an attack as well on the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement? Perhaps. In all likelihood the spectator of 1664 and 1669 must have thought of that notorious organization as he watched the performance. Very probably the same thought passed through Molière's mind as he composed his comedy. One would be indeed sceptical to reject entirely such a clear possibility. In any case, the Compagnie declared war on the production, for its members saw in this play a disconcerting and even dangerous satire, and in its author they beheld a redoubtable enemy.¹³

¹³ With regard to M. Michaud's theories about the first *Tartuffe* I am glad to find myself in agreement with M. Albert Cahen, whose review (see *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, Janv.-Mars, 1926) reached America long after this article was composed.

THE DAY BOOK AND LEDGER OF WORDSWORTH'S CARPENTER

By ALFRED E. RICHARDS
University of New Hampshire

During a fortnight's stay in Grasmere, England, in 1907, the writer made the acquaintance of Edward Wilson, Jr., the son of a carpenter who was active in the village of Grasmere a century ago. I learned from the son that he had in his possession the day book and the ledger which his father had kept between the years 1808 and 1843 while Wordsworth, Coleridge and De Quincey were in Grasmere, and I received permission to copy as many of the entries as I chose. When I had finished with the books, I was informed that Professor George M. Harper of Princeton had visited the carpenter only a week previous to my visit and had also expressed great interest in the day book. The ledger, however, had not been shown.

The *kleine Realien* given below may lend additional interest to Grasmere associations and to the reading of "The Brothers" and of the preface to *The Excursion*.

| [Page 16] | William Wordsworth Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----|----|----|
| 1808 April 28th | to a Caul painting | | 1 | 6 |
| | to A Knife Board | | 1 | 3 |
| | to a Routing pin and | | 0 | 3 |
| | to A Twining Stick | | 0 | 3 |
| June 12th | to Self 1 Day Woork | | 0 | 3 |
| | to Sundarly Jobs | | 0 | 9 |
| | to Work at the town End | | 1 | 3 |
| | to the Childers Rakes | | 0 | 9 |
| 15th | to A hay fork Shaft | | 0 | 6 |
| | to a Dressen tabel | | 4 | 6 |
| | to An Ax Shafting | | 0 | 6 |
| Nov. 15th | to Self 1 Day | | 3 | 0 |
| Dec. 21th | to Self 1/2 Day | | 1 | 6 |
| 1809 February 6th | to a haxter | | 15 | 6 |
| | to A Hat pooll | | 4 | 0 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| 1809 Febry 14th | to 2 Chares mending | | 2 | 0 |
| 16th | to Childers Carridge Mended | | 1 | 6 |
| Aprcl 20th | to A Desk Setting Up | | 1 | 4 |
| May 13th | to An Ax Shafting | | 0 | 6 |
| | to B Shalevs putting Up | | 1 | 6 |
| | to the Saeft mending | | 1 | 0 |
| | to Sara Nash | | 0 | 5 |
| | to A spade Shaft | | 0 | 8 |

| | | | |
|-----------------|---|----|--------|
| | to 2 How Shafts | 1 | 4 |
| | to Bed Hangins put up | 0 | 6 |
| Dec 17th | to Thomas 1 Day | 3 | 0 |
| | to a Knife Bord Macking | 1 | 3 |
| | to A Brush Steal | 0 | 3 |
| 23th | to Locks Repairing | 1 | 6 |
| | to Carpet putting down | 1 | 6 |
| [Page 37] | | | |
| 1808 Dec 16th | to Nails for the Carpet | 0 | 9 |
| | to A brush Steal | 0 | 9 |
| 1810 Jan'y 21st | to a Coll Box | 2 | 6 |
| 1810 Feb'y 20 | to A Small Box Repairing | 9 | 3 |
| | To A Chese Caridge Repairing | 0 | 4 |
| May 6th | To Work and Scrui Nails | 0 | 4 |
| 1810 July 3th | To A New Tabel | 9 | 6 |
| [Page 57] | | | |
| 1810 Des 24 | To 1 1/2 Day | 4 | 6 |
| [Page 67] | | | |
| 1811 April 20 | William Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. D. |
| | To A Cask Lidd | 2 | 0 |
| | To Work in the Cowhouse | 0 | 6 |
| May 10 | To Hat poll Repard | 0 | 9 |
| May June 31th | To Thomas 2 Days Work | 7 | 0 |
| | To James 1/2 Day | 1 | 6 |
| | To Sur base and Work Bord | 2 | 6 |
| | To Sprigs | 0 | 9 |
| June 1th | To 4 Days By Thomas | 14 | 0 |
| | To Games 4 Days | 4 | 0 |
| | To 14 foot of Inch Bords at 17 | 7 | 0 |
| 3th | To 1/2 Bundel of Hart Laths | 3 | 6 |
| [Page 72] | | | |
| June 3 | William Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. D. |
| | To 1 lb. of Nails at /3 | 0 | 3 |
| | To 1 lb. of Nails at /7 | 0 | 7 |
| | To 1 lb. of Spickes at /9 and 1 at /6 per lb. | 1 | 3 |
| 9th | To Thomas 5 Days | 17 | 6 |
| | To 1/2 lb. of Nails at /4 | 0 | 4 |
| | To A Stock Lock at 2/9 | 2 | 9 |
| 15th | To Thomas 2 1/2 at 3/6 per Day | 6 | 9 |
| | To A knife Bord | 2 | 6 |
| | To A Carpet put Down | 0 | 6 |
| | To Tacking the Carridge In Out of Crumps | | |
| | Stable | 0 | 6 |
| July 13th | To Rackes Reparred | 0 | 6 |
| Agust 16 | To 7 foot of Deal at 6 pr f | 3 | 6 |
| | To Work at the Seme and Bearers | 2 | 0 |
| | To 6 Close parts | 6 | 0 |
| | To Thomas 1 1/2 Day and Nails 4 D | 5 | 7 |
| [Page 73] | | | |
| Sept 4 | William Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. D. |
| 28 | To Close pegs and Tray | 1 | 0 |
| | To Thomas 1/2 Day and Nails /4 1/2 | 1 | 10 1/2 |
| | To 2 Shafts | 1 | 0 |
| Nov. 10 | To A Kettel Lid | 2 | 6 |
| 23th | To Casements A Uard(?) | 0 | 9 |
| | To 2 Close Horse at 2/6 Each | 5 | 0 |
| Dec. 6 | To Thomas 1/2 Days | 1 | 9 |
| 21 | To A Chest Repard | 1 | 3 |

WORDSWORTH'S CARPENTER

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| | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 1812 Jan'y 22th | To Thomas 1/2 Day | 1 | 9 | |
| | To Serus Nails and Ca[etc?] | 0 | 6 | |
| 25 | To Thomas 1 Day | 3 | 6 | |
| | To 2 lbs of Small Nails | 1 | 6 | |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| [Page 81] | Wm. Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
| 1812 Feb'y 27 | To Thomas 1/2 Day | | 1 | 9 |
| March 21 | To A Churn Lid | | 2 | 0 |
| | To A Churn Stop | | 2 | 0 |
| | To Painting | | 1 | 0 |
| April 5 | To 3 Shafts at /8 per pise | | 2 | 0 |
| | To Windows Repard | | 1 | 0 |
| | To Thomas 1 Day | | 3 | 6 |
| | To Nails | | 0 | 4 |
| | To Line Seed Oil | | 0 | 6 |
| June 4 | To A Childs Carridge | | 1 | 6 |
| | To Thomas 1/2 Day | | 1 | 9 |
| | To James 1/2 Days | | 1 | 3 |
| | To A Tabel Repard | | 1 | 4 |
| | To A Brush Steal | | 0 | 8 |
| Agust 10 | To Thomas 1/2 Days | | 1 | 9 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| 1812 Nov 7 | Wm. Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
| | To Thomas 1/2 Days | | 1 | 9 |
| | To 2 lb of Nails at /8 per lb | | 1 | 4 |
| [Page 118] | Mr Wm. Wordsworth Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
| Des 4 | To yr Son Thomas Coffin | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Des 24 | To 2 Locks Set on and Stapels | | 0 | 9 |
| 1813 Jan'y 23th | To A Washing Doll | | 2 | 6 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| March 7 | To A frame Repard | | 0 | 3 |
| 20 | To Thomas Work at House | | 0 | 9 |
| May 7 | To Self 1 Day | | 2 | 0 |
| | To Thomas 5 Days | | 10 | 0 |
| 15 | To A Window Blord | | 3 | 6 |
| | To Thomas 1 Day | | 2 | 0 |
| | To A Desk Repard | | 2 | 0 |
| 22 | To Tho 4 Days | | 8 | 0 |
| | To 12 1/2 foot of plank at /12 | | 12 | 6 |
| | To 3 Day (?) of Seru Nails at /5 | | 1 | 3 |
| | To Sprigs 1/6 | | 1 | 6 |
| 30 | To Thomas 2 Days | | 4 | 0 |
| | To a Whele Barrow | | 16 | 6 |
| June 12 | To Thomas 1 1/2 Day | | 3 | 0 |
| July 3 | To a Large Deal press | 5 | 15 | 6 |
| | To Thomas 1 1/2 Day | | 3 | 0 |
| | To Wood for the Bed top | | 2 | 0 |
| | To 4 pr of But Hinges and Seru Nails | | 1 | 3 |
| 10 | To Work by Tho | | 2 | 6 |
| 17 | To A Window Bord | | 2 | 6 |
| | To Churchfeald Gate Repard | | 1 | 0 |
| | To Tho 3/4 of A Day | | 1 | 6 |
| 24 | To 2 Shafts | | 1 | 6 |
| | To A Brush Shaft | | 1 | 4 |
| | To A Small Close Horse | | 2 | 6 |
| 31 | To a Strichel | | 0 | 4 |
| | To Thomas 3/4 of a Day | | 1 | 6 |
| Agust 14 | To 4 Shafts at 9 pd pese | | 3 | 0 |
| | To A Box Devided | | 10 | 6 |
| Agust 21 | To Wrought Bords | | 0 | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----|----|---|
| | | To A Press Inlargement | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| | | To Tho. 1/2 Day | | 1 | 0 |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| [Page 122] | Wm. Wordsworth Esq. | | | | |
| 1813 Sept 11 | To Work By Thos. | | 1 | 0 | |
| 13 | To 8 lb of paint at /9 pr lb | | 6 | 0 | |
| Oct 1 | To 1 Qt of Oil 2/ Work 1/6 | | 3 | 6 | |
| | To A Walking Stick | | 3 | 6 | |
| D c 4 | To Tho. 1 Day at 2/ | | 3 | 6 | |
| | To Sofh Cand[?] Nails and Sprigs | | 1 | 6 | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| 1814 Jan 15 | To A Shaft | | 0 | 6 | |
| March 26 | To paint and Work | | 1 | 0 | |
| April 2 | To Work By Thos | | 2 | 0 | |
| | To Deal Wood | | 1 | 0 | |
| 23 | To Thos 1 Day at Butterdale | | 4 | 0 | |
| | To James 1 Day | | 3 | 0 | |
| 30 | To Thos 6 Days | 1 | 4 | 0 | |
| | To James 6 Days | | 18 | 0 | |
| | To 3 lb of Spicks at /3 per lb | | 2 | 0 | |
| May 7 | To Thos. 3 Day | | 12 | 0 | |
| | To James 3 Days | | 9 | 0 | |
| June 25 | To Carridge Whele Falling | | 16 | 0 | |
| | To Work at Carridge | | 4 | 6 | |
| | To 5 1/2 foot of Bords at /4 pr | | 1 | 10 | |
| | To Nails | | 1 | 0 | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| [Page 160] | William Wardsworth Esq. | £. | S. | D. | |
| 1817 Oct 19 | To Self 2 1/2 Day | | 8 | 9 | |
| No 9 | To Self 2 Days | | 7 | 0 | |
| 15 | To Self 5 1/2 Days | | 19 | 3 | |
| 23 | To Self 3 1/2 Days | | 12 | 3 | |
| 30 | To Self 4 Days | | 12 | 0 | |
| Des 6 | To Self 1 1/2 Day | | 4 | 6 | |
| | To Nails 7 lb at 3 lb | | 4 | 10 | |
| | Leading [loading?] the Wood | | 4 | 0 | |
| | | 3 | 7 | 10 | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| for Thos Wilson to be Charged | | | | | |

The ledger also contains the following items charged to DeQuincey:

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| [Page 28] | Tho. DeQuency Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
| 1809 Febry 22th | to Childers Carridge | | 3 | |
| May 6th | To Self 1/2 Day Woork | | 1 | 6 |
| 14th | to Thomas 1 Day | | 3 | 0 |
| | to 2 lbs of Nails | | 0 | 7 |
| May 27th | to Self 1 Day | | 3 | 0 |
| | to Thomas 3 Days | | 9 | 0 |
| | To George 2 Days | | 5 | 0 |
| June 1th | to Thomas 3 Days | | 9 | 0 |
| | to George 3 Days | | 7 | 6 |
| June 7th | to 164 foot of Bords at 15 d. per | 3 | 8 | 4 |
| | to 20 foot of 1/2 Inch Bords at 2 pr. | | 3 | 4 |
| | to 2 Oack Gate posts | | 5 | 0 |
| | to 200 Sprigs | | 1 | 0 |
| June 11th | to 30 foot of Inch Bords | | 12 | 8 |
| 14th | to 13 foot of Inch Bords | | 5 | 5 |
| | to 10 foot of half Inch Bords | | 1 | 8 |

WORDSWORTH'S CARPENTER

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| | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| July 10th | to Self 1 1/2 Days | 4 | 6 |
| | to Thomas 2 Days | 6 | 0 |
| | to George 1 Day | 2 | 6 |
| 15th | to A brush Steal | 0 | 8 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | Delivrd this Bill | 7 | 17 8 |

The remaining items were copied from Wilson's day book.

| | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Churchwardens of Grasmere | £. | S. | D. |
| 1820 Des 19 | To a Herse | 14 | 9 | 0 |
| 1821 Sept 2 | To a Church Door By Contract | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | H. Coleridge Esq. | £. | S. | D. |
| June 25, 1842 | To Book Shelves | | 8 | 6 |
| | Hartley Coleridge | | | |
| April 22, 1843 | To a Picture frame | | 3 | 6 |

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

A NOTE ON LUDWIG TIECK

It remains true that of all the major figures in German literature none is so undetermined and vague as that of Ludwig Tieck. Of biographies we possess only the extremely antiquated work of Köpke (1855), the rambling memoirs of Friesen (1871) and brief sketches prefacing selections from Tieck's works, such as those of Klee and Welti. After almost three score years Haym still remains, not quite deservedly so, our most reliable source. Hence it is not surprising that the evaluation of Tieck in the current histories of literature, and to a less extent in special works, is far from being uniform and that gross injustice is frequently done him.

Just when we may expect a modern, full biography and fair appraisal of the author is hard to say. The obstacles confronting the task are many and serious. Tieck was prolific; his interests and activities were multifarious; it is difficult to get a detached and comprehensive view of his character and works; the prejudices against him, some of them justified, are numerous; his letters are for the most part scattered and inaccessible.

And yet the task will have to be accomplished if we are ever to gain a clear picture of Tieck's extreme importance as a force in German literature. Besides, it is doubtful whether our estimate of German Romanticism as a whole can be complete before we possess a critical biography of Tieck.

The present note would emphasize and refute by three examples one single point in which it is felt injustice has been done the author consistently and almost unanimously¹ by friend and foe alike. We refer to the charge that Tieck, quite apart from any innate dualism, with which we are here not concerned,² was a changeling, that he

¹ A notable exception is Stefansky in *Das Wesen der deutschen Romantik*, Stuttgart, 1923. But this work contains only very general statements.

² The best treatment of Tieck's literary consistency is found in Marianne Thalmann, *Probleme der Dämonie in Ludwig Tiecks Schriften*, Muncker-Forschungen 53, Weimar, 1919. The author shows that Tieck's dual nature was based not upon flippancy or charlatanry, but upon deep-seated psychological causes, and that essentially Tieck always remained true to his nature. From the beginning to the end of his literary career he was a consistent demonist

lacked steadfastness in his views. A great variety of critics not particularly friendly to Tieck voice this charge, among them Heine, Julian Schmidt, Haym, Dilthey (*Leben Schleiermachers*), Ricarda Huch, Kuno Francke and Calvin Thomas. But this is not remarkable in view of the fact that the accusations are traceable to close friends and admirers of Tieck himself. Thus Köpke (II 131) speaks of Tieck's "Wandlungsfähigkeit"; Friesen (I 79) more specifically mentions the charge (and implies at least its partial truth) that Tieck's attitude toward Schiller—who we know was at first the object of his sincere praise—became in later years critical; and Karl von Holtei, in the preface to volume ii of *Dreihundert Briefe aus zwei Jahrhunderten*,³ has the following:

Was aber jedweden, der den späteren Tieck persönlich kannte, aufs seltsamste befremden muss, das ist sein Umschwung in politischer Beziehung. Wer die Stelle im VII. Briefe über die französische Revolution . . . mit der etwa zehn Jahre später im VIII. Briefe . . . enthaltenen Ausserung über Rousseau und Voltaire vergleicht, der mag schon hinreichend erstaunen. Es gilt halt auch hier wie immer und überall der abgenützte Spruch: Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis. Solche Umwandlung tut sich in musikalischer Hinsicht besonders beim Urtheile über Mozart kund, der in späteren Jahren ihm das Höchste war, und von dem der VII. Brief . . . fast verächtlich redet.

Since these charges are rather typical of the treatment generally accorded to Tieck and are found in source material, it will repay us to examine them in detail.

First as for Tieck's attitude toward Schiller. There can be no doubt that the youthful Tieck was a great admirer of Schiller. Numerous proofs of this can be adduced from the letters written to Wackenroder in 1792.⁴ One passage from the letter dated Göttingen, December 28, 1792, will suffice for our purpose (p. 72):

Du hast die Räuber neulich geschn und ich habe sie wieder von neuem gelesen. —O es ist doch ein herrliches, ein göttliches Stück,—mir ist, als muss ich vor Schillern hinfallen und ihn anbeten,—Gott, was kann der Mensch sein, sollte man glauben, dass Schiller eine Organisation mit dem trocknen Dummkopf (i.e. Kotzebue) habe, der ihm doch in allem so ähnlich sieht.

But that even at this early date—at the age of nineteen—Tieck maintained a *critical* attitude toward Schiller is proved by the letter dated Halle, June 23 (or 24), 1792:

Ist es Dir nicht aufgefallen, dass Schiller in dem Sek. Wurm einen grossen

and irrationalist, although his interest gradually shifted from the demonization of nature to the demonization of everyday life.

³ Hannover, 1872, p. x.

⁴ Holtei, op. cit., 4. Teil, pp. 67-90. I quote purposely from this old edition, rather than from the new collection of von der Leyen.

Fehler begangen hat. Erinnerst Du Dich noch, dass wir es einst an Shakspeares Bösewichtern bewunderten, dass man sie gar nicht hassen könne?—Dies ist hier nicht der Fall. Er wird so sehr gehasst, dass er selbst die Illusion stört, weil er gar zu abscheulich ist.

The sober position here taken is quite in accord with that of the older Tieck as expressed in the critical essay on Wallenstein (*Kritische Schriften*, III, 37). Hence there is no valid ground for charging Tieck with a materially changed point of view so far as Schiller is concerned. He shows just as much consistency in his attitude toward him as he does toward Shakespeare.

The evidence upon which Holtei bases his charge of political fickleness is as follows. In the letter of December 28, 1792, from which we have already quoted, Tieck, carried away by enthusiasm for the French Revolution, writes (p. 87):

O, wenn ich izt ein Franzose wäre! Dann wollt' ich nicht hier sitzen, dann . . . Doch leider bin ich in einer Monarchie geboren, die gegen die Freiheit kämpfte, unter Menschen, die noch Barbaren genug sind, die Franzosen zu verachten. Ich habe mich sehr geändert, ich bin izt nicht glücklich, wenn ich keine Zeitungen haben kann. O, in Frankreich zu sein, es muss doch ein grosses Gefühl sein, unter Dumouriez zu fechten und Sklaven in die Flucht zu jagen, und auch zu fallen,—was ist ein Leben ohne Freiheit? Ich begrüsse den Genius Griechenlands mit Entzücken, den ich über Gallien schweben sehe, Frankreich ist izt mein Gedanke Tag und Nacht,—ist Frankreich unglücklich, so verachte ich die ganze Welt und verzweifle an ihrer Kraft, dann ist für unser Jahrhundert der Traum zu schön.

Eleven years later, on November 21, 1803, he writes to J. P. Le Pique, attacking Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Rousseau he calls (p. 93) "der Stifter der Schlechtigkeit unserer Zeit," and of the novel he says that it contains:

eine solche Dürre des Herzens, ein so positiver Unglaube und Verschmähung alles Göttlichen, dass dieses Buch sich . . . an alle die Schlechtigkeiten schliesst, die wir Voltaire und andern Franzosen zu danken haben.

It is upon the basis of these two passages and of them alone that Holtei accuses his friend of being a changeling. Need it be pointed out that the passages cannot fairly be contrasted, that the first is a glorification of the Revolution and the second a condemnation of certain French writers? As a matter of fact, on the question of French literature, as on that of Schiller, Tieck reveals a remarkable steadfastness of view, for as early as December 28, 1792, he condemns "die Eichelkost der französischen Stücke" (p. 73).

The point that Holtei makes with regard to Mozart, finally, is based upon even slighter evidence. Tieck is writing to Wacken-

roder (December 28, 1792) about the treatment of comic characters on the stage and adds the parenthetical remark (p. 76):

Wenn ich aber allen diesen Carrikaturen den Stab breche, was soll ich denn noch von Dittersdorfs (und mitunter auch von Mozarts) und anderen neuen Musiken sagen?

On the strength of this comment, made in passing, Holtei would believe that in 1792 Tieck "almost despised" Mozart, whom he later revered. But the truth is that Tieck here meant merely to imply that sometimes Mozart allowed himself to be carried to extremes by a frivolous or capricious mood. Indeed, far from being averse to Mozart, the young Tieck—as early as 1789—was his ardent admirer, and this in spite of the fact that his friends were of different opinion. Köpke (I, 86-87) is very clear and full on this point.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

AN UNPUBLISHED (?) POEM OF EMANUEL GEIBEL

The following autograph poem of Emanuel Geibel came into my possession about a year ago. I secured it from a European collector of autographs, who in turn obtained it from a member of the Geibel family. It is written in purple ink and bears the date 1844. I have found no evidence that it has ever been published, although it is possible, of course, that it may have appeared in some ephemeral publication. Neither the *Gesammelte Werke* in 8 volumes,¹ nor the *Gedichte aus dem Nachlass*² contain it. It is not mentioned, either, among the fugitive miscellanies listed in the biography of Leimbach and Trippenbach.³ Undoubtedly it is one of the numerous poems which for some reason or other Geibel never incorporated in his published works. In a letter of Bertha Geibel, a niece of the poet,—this letter, which I secured from the same source as the poem, is also in my possession—mention is made of a whole collection of such unpublished miscellanies.⁴

¹ I have examined both the second edition (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1888) and the third (1893).

² I have used the second edition, Stuttgart, 1896.

³ *Emanuel Geibels Leben, Werke und Bedeutung für das deutsche Volk* von Carl Leimbach. 2. Auflage von Max Trippenbach, Wolfenbüttel, 1915, pp. 338-341.

⁴ This letter is dated Uhlenhorst, May 19, 1900, and is addressed to a Fräulein Müller. With the letter Bertha enclosed a verse by her uncle (perhaps the poem herewith published), the transmission of the verse being the main purpose of the letter. The sentence referring to this enclosure reads: "Da ich noch im Besitz einiger kleinen Schriftstücke bin, gereicht es mir zur beson-

The poem reads as follows:

Herbstnebel rieseln schaurig,
Das Meer ist grau wie Blei,
Es schleichen bang und traurig
Die Stunden mir vorbei.

Es schleichen bang die Stunden
Im aschfarb schleppenden Kleid,
Die Sonn' ist wie verschwunden,
Erstorben Freud' und Leid.

O käm' ein Sturm geflogen
Aus Nord her oder Süd
Und wühlt' empor in Wogen
Das Meer und mein Gemüth!

Poems on autumn are, as we know, not uncommon in Geibel. I recall the collection *Spätherbstblätter* in volume IV, pp. 1-192, of the *Gesammelte Werke*, also the individual poems *Herbstgefühl* (I, 72), *Im Herbste* (I, 175), the three *Herbstlieder* (II, 14ff.), *Herbstklage* (II, 28), *Herbstlich sonnige Tage* (II, 70), the sonnets *Herbstblätter* (II, 98ff.), and *Herbstnacht* (III, 7). In the *Gedichte aus dem Nachlass* compare also *Herbstlied des Kranken* (p. 35) and *Herbstfahrt* (p. 149). Concerning the poet's penchant for the autumnal season Leimbach-Trippenbach say (p. 235): "Neben dem Frühling weiht er besonders dem Herbste seinen Gesang."

On Geibel's practise of bringing his own prevailing mood into relation with his art the same biographers have the following remark (p. 227): "Bemerkenswert sind zahlreiche Stimmungsbilder, die mit der Liebeslyrik sich oft berühren. Sehnsucht und Erinnerung, Selbstbekenntnisse und Selbstcharakteristiken des Menschen und Poeten wechseln mit einander ab."

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF HEBBEL

The autograph note of Friedrich Hebbel which I publish herewith came into my possession through purchase about a year ago. It is written upon an ordinary double sheet of letter-paper, each page measuring about 14 x 23 cm.

Geehrte Frau von Goethe!

Die plötzliche Ankunft eines werthen Freundes von Paris macht es mir zu meinem Leidwesen unmöglich, heut Mittag Ihrem Wunsch zu entsprechen. Ent-

deren Freude, Ihnen, verehrtes Fräulein Müller, ein Verslein senden zu können aus der *kleinen* Mappe, die mein Erbtheil war, nach dem Tode meines Onkels."

schuldigen Sie mich daher und erlauben Sie mir, Ihnen ein ander Mal meinen Besuch zu machen.

Ihr hochachtungsvoll ergebener
Dr. Fr. Hebbel.

Sonntag.

Although the tone of the note is quite conventional and its contents insignificant, a certain interest attaches to it, not only because it is a very good specimen of Hebbel's handwriting, but also because it is addressed to Ottilie, the daughter-in-law of Goethe. So far as I can determine, no correspondence whatever between Hebbel and Ottilie has as yet been published.

An examination of Hebbel's published letters in the monumental edition of R. M. Werner discloses the following relations between Hebbel and Ottilie. On November 26, 1846, Hebbel writes from Vienna to his friend Gurlitt:

Frau von Goethe werde ich besuchen, sobald sie nach Wien kommt, was ich zu erfahren hoffe; ich bin sehr begierig, einmal eine Person zu sehen, die mit unserem grossen Dichter so nah zusammenhängt.¹

Ottilie is not mentioned again in Hebbel's correspondence until March 8, 1848, when he writes from Vienna to Gustav Kühne:

Ihren Brief an Frau von Goethe habe ich besorgt, und zwar persönlich, jedoch ohne sie zu sprechen, da sie krank war. Sicher werde ich ihr, da sie hier eine Zeit lang bleiben wird, irgend wo begegnen und die Gelegenheit umso eher suchen, als ich schon seit lange von einem ihrer italiänischen Freunde einen Gruss für sie habe. Goethes Schwiegertochter kennen zu lernen, wird mir nicht bloss interessant seyn, sondern wahrhaft zur Freude gereichen.²

Sometime later in the same year, 1848, he met her, as the following statement in the *Tagebücher* shows. It is found in the entry of December 31, 1848, wherein Hebbel summarizes the events of the year: "*Bekanntschaften: Prof. Seligmann, Auerbach, Frau von Goethe u. s. w.*"³ Then we hear nothing further on the subject until December, 1849, when he writes from Vienna, also to Kühne:

Der Frau von Goethe geht es nicht zum Besten, doch sieht sie zuweilen Gesellschaft bei sich.⁴

In another letter to Kühne, dated Vienna, March 4, 1850,⁵ we learn that Hebbel has received a communication from Kühne

¹ Werner, *Friedrich Hebbel. Sämtliche Werke*. 3. Abteilung, Briefe. III, 354.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 96.

³ Werner, *op. cit.*, 2. Abteilung, *Tagebücher*, III, 319 (No. 4481).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 3. Abteilung, Briefe, IV, 183.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 200.

through Ottilie, and in the same letter⁶ we read of a visit that Ottilie paid Hebbel on the day of writing. Soon after, on March 19, 1850, he describes to Kühne how he met the writer Bogumil Goltz at the Goethe house,⁷ and on the following day he reports to Felix Bamberg on the same theme.⁸ Ottilie is then not mentioned again until April 3, 1852, when Hebbel reports from Vienna to Franz Dingelstedt:

Ich soll heut Mittag bei der Goethe essen und die Stunde ist fast da, wenn auch nicht der Appetit.⁹

That is the last reference to her during the Vienna period.

The next mention of Ottilie in Hebbel's correspondence is found in a letter addressed to Christine, dated Weimar, June 24, 1858. Hebbel writes:

Gestern Morgen machte ich Besuche, unter Anderem auch bei Frau von Goethe. Sie ist schneeweiss geworden, sieht aber im Übrigen gut aus. Wir freuten uns gegenseitig über's Wiedersehen, und sie lässt Dich auf's Wärmste grüssen.¹⁰

Three days later (June 27, 1858) he writes to Christine:

Zurückgekommen, werde ich von Frau von Goethe auf drei Uhr zu Tisch gebeten; ich acceptire. Kaum ist der Diener aus der Thür, so erhalte ich von der Grossfürstin eine Einladung zum Diner auf dieselbe Stunde in Belvédère. Das lässt sich natürlich nicht ablehnen, ich also persönlich zur Goethe, dann zurück, um fort zu schreiben!¹¹

On July 1, 1858, he reports also to Christine:

Nachmittags ass ich bei Frau von Goethe; es war die dritte Einladung und ich konnte sie nicht wieder ablehnen, obgleich ich bei der Fürstin Wittgenstein schon versprochen war. Glücklicherweise fielen die Essstunden nicht zusammen; ich fand mich daher bei der Fürstin, wo man früher zu Tisch geht, als Geist des Banquo ein, und sah zu, um nachher bei der Goethe wirklich zu speisen.¹²

The only remaining letter in which he speaks of Ottilie is the one addressed to Christine from Leipzig on August 29, 1862. He writes:

Marschall [the secretary of the Grand Duchess and executor of the Eckermann estate] behauptet, das ganze Goethesche Haus, die Mutter mit eingeschlossen, bestehe aus alten Jungfern; es ist etwas daran.¹³

With these data before us, the question arises: Was our letter

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI, 154. Ottilie was now living in Weimar.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 160-161.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VII, 243.

written during the Vienna period of 1848-1852, or during the Weimar period of the latter part of June, 1858? Since Hebbel's relation to Ottilie seems never to have passed the stage of a more or less formal acquaintanceship, nor to have deepened with time, the conventional tone of the note does not necessarily imply an early date. Yet it seems more natural to assume that it dates from the Vienna period.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

University of Cincinnati

SOURCES OF POEMS 48 AND 49 IN *THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES*

In *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), poem No. 48, entitled "Fortitude. A yong man of Aegypt and Valerian," (Reprinted Brydges & Haslewood, *Brit. Bibliog.*, 1812, vol. III), is based on a story from St. Jerome which is told by Elyot in *The Governour* (Ed. Croft, II, 315-16). The story is that of a young man from Egypt, a Christian, whom, to save from martyrdom, Valerian, the Roman emperor, attempts to seduce through the wiles of a beautiful maiden. The young Christian inflicts such pain on himself by biting out his tongue that he extinguishes the lust of the flesh, and thus maintains his chastity.

The poetic version in *The Paradise* follows Elyot's and not Jerome's story. In *The Governour* and *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, the phrasing is similar,¹ the order of the narrative is the

¹ (a) Cf. *The Governour*:

. . . a bedde within a fayre gardayne, havyng about him all flowres of swete odour and most delectable savours and perfumes. And than caused a fayre tender yonge woman to be layde by him all naked, who ceased not, swetely and lovingly to embrace and kysse him, showing to him all pleasant devices, to the intent to provoke him to do fornication.

and

The Paradise:

A bedde preparad so finely deekt, such divers pleasant smells . . .

By him he laied a naked wenche, a Venus darlyng sure, with sugred speache, and lovely toyes that might his minde allure.

(b) Cf. *The Governour*:

. . . he with his teeth did gnaw of his owne tunge, wherin he suffred such incredible payne that therewith the furious brennyng of voluptuous appetite was utterly extinct.

and

The Paradise:

With bloodie tooth his tender tong bote quite and cleane in two

Thus was the paine so passyng greate, of this his bloudie bitte

That all the fire and carnall lust was quenched every whitte.

same, the omissions from the Latin original are the same²; for example, the references to the murmuring of the brook and the moaning of the wind, and the description of the specific wiles of the temptress; and, finally, the word "Venus," not in the Latin, appears in both English versions.

Poem 49 in *The Paradise* (Brydges, *B. B.*, III, 50) entitled "Justice. Zaleuch and his sonne" is a metrical version of an incident related in the *History* of Valerius Maximus. The story is that Prince Zaleuch of the Locrensiens having established rigorous laws against adulterers, was forced to pass sentence upon his son, the penalty for the culprit being the loss of his eyes. Importuned by the citizens to remit the punishment, the prince insisted on fulfilling the law. Accordingly, he had one of his own eyes plucked out, and, then, one of his son's, thus proving himself a merciful father and a just law maker.

The author of the poetic version of this incident could have had access to at least three prose versions; the Latin of Valerius Maximus (*Hist.* Bk. VI, Ch. V), a transcript of this Latin in the *Adagiorum*³ (Basilae (1523), p. 534) of Erasmus, and an English prose version in Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* (Reprint of 1560 edit., ed. Mair, p. 28). An examination of the texts mentioned, however, shows that the poet used the English rendering by Wilson. For example, the title of the poem, "Justice," and the impulse to deal with this subject came from *The Arte of Rhetorique*. Wilson devotes two printed pages (27-28), with the marginal notes, "necessitie of justice," "Iustice easie to be observed if will be not wanting," to a consideration of the subject, concluding, "I trust that not onely all men will commend Iustice in worde, but also will live justly in deede" (p. 29). Here is the suggestion for treatment of the subject as well as an effective story from the ancient Latin to illustrate it. That the poet did follow the English version in Wil-

² Both English versions of the incident omit translating the following words of the Latin original: "Meretrix . . . coepit . . . et quod dictu quoque scelus est, manibus attractare virilia: ut corpore in libidinem concitato, se victrix impudica superjaceret." (Qtd. Croft, II, 315; Cf. Hieron. *in vita S. Pauli Eremitae*. Migne ed., tom. ii., col. 19.)

³ The lines in the *Adagiorum* are as follows: . . . "Etenim quem filius Zaleuci secundum ius ab eo constitutum ob crimen adulteri utroque oculo carere deberet, ac tota civitas in honorem poenam adolescenti remitteret repugnavit aliquamdiu postremo populi victus precibus, suo prius, deinde filii oculo eruto, salva lege, supplicii modum temperavit. . . ." (LXIII)

Wilson probably followed Erasmus, though both refer to Valerius Maximus.

son and not either of the Latin versions, lines and phrases common to *The Arte* and *The Paradise* and not found in the *Adagiorum* or the *History* offer proof. Compare *The Arte*, (1) “. . . he established most wholesome laws”; (2) “Lorde what love had that worthie Prince, Seleucus . . . to have good lawes kept”; (3) “showing himself . . . a mercifull father and a just law maker”; and *The Paradise*, (1) “Let rulers make most perfect lawes”; (2) “Lorde God, how earnest then was he to execute the lawe”; (3) “Was he more gentle father now? or juster judge, trow ye?” These parallels, without basis in the Latin versions, seem good evidence of the poet’s access to Wilson’s work.

The elaboration by the poet of the petitions of the people for the release of the son, and the addition, at the end of the poem, of four lines setting forth the figure of the spider’s web are apparently the poet’s invention.

D. T. STARNES

University of Texas

THE FAIR CASSIO

The famous crux in the first scene of *Othello*,

One Michael Cassio, a Florentine,
A fellow almost damn’d in a fair wife,

seems to be an example of Shakespeare’s imaginative use of language. Iago is disparaging Cassio’s soldiership and affirming his effeminacy. He goes on to say:

That never set a squadron in the field,
Nor the division of a battle knows
More than a spinster.

Cassio is elsewhere referred to as notably handsome, a “proper” man. In the line,

A fellow almost damn’d in a fair wife,

Iago calls him almost as beautiful as a young woman. It is a line that might be paraphrased thus: “A fellow almost a perfect lady!”

The context makes this interpretation highly probable. But how does the line come to acquire this meaning? Evidently *wife* means merely *woman*, as in *fishwife*. *Damn’d* implies that Cassio is a magician; and *in* means *in the shape of*. This meaning of *damn’d* is common in Shakespeare. It occurs in *Othello* itself, in the second scene. Brabantio says to Othello:

Damn'd as thou art, thou hast enchanted her.

Enchanted means *cast a spell over*. A witch or magician is frequently referred to in Elizabethan superstition as damned. In *The Tempest* we have

This damn'd witch, Sycorax (I, 2, 263);

in *I Henry IV*,

That great magician, damn'd Glendower (I, 3, 83);

in *I Henry VI*,

Pucelle, that witch, that damned sorcerer. (III, 2, 38)

The comparison of Cassio's beauty to that of a woman is supported by several of Shakespeare's sonnets. In No. 20 we read:

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted
Hast thou, the master-mistress of my passion.

There is nothing strange, therefore, about Iago's sarcastic reference to Cassio as being almost as beautiful as a fair woman. On the contrary, it is the natural interpretation of the passage. And the boldly imaginative use of language is not unlike that in many Shakespearean passages. Just as Hamlet refers to "the fair Ophelia," Iago refers to the fair Cassio. In another passage, at the end of the first act, he says that Cassio is so handsome and so affable that he is "framed to make women false." Evidently Iago's hatred is due in part to the fact that he himself is not a good-looking man and is not successful as a lady-killer.

HARRY T. BAKER

Goucher College

BOOK REVIEWS

Gehalt und Form. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Literaturwissenschaft und zur allgemeinen Geistesgeschichte, von Robert Petsch. Dortmund, Ruhfus, 1925. 572 S. (Hamburgische Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Philologie. Reihe II: Untersuchungen. Nr.1).

The stately volume, dedicated to Wilhelm Braune in honor of his seventy-fifth birthday, contains a welcome collection of articles in the domain of German literature and related fields which had originally appeared in a fairly wide range of professional journals during the years from 1903 to 1924. By way of justification, as it were, Professor Petsch prints a delightfully personal account of his own *Werdegang* as a scholar from the days of his classical studies in the *Sophiengymnasium* in Berlin in the early nineties to his acceptance of the chair of German literature in the University of Hamburg in 1919.

The twenty-two papers are grouped under the following heads: The drama in general (2); the theory of the tragic (4); Faust-saga and Faust-literature (12); the world of German idealism (4). This "world of German idealism," in the last analysis, is the informing spirit of the entire volume. As many as eight articles deal with Goethe's greatest work, concerning which the author (p. 392) rightly claims, "there exists no more complete synthesis of the deepest urges and the highest thoughts of 'German idealism' than Goethe's *Faust* taken in its totality." Six further papers are devoted to Klopstock, Heinse, Schiller, Hölderlin, and again Goethe, and even in the more general articles, that deal with the drama of the ancients and with dramatic theory, the classical German drama of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe is constantly kept in view.

Judging from the temper of both content and treatment, it is apparent that in the majority of cases the author has written for the narrower circle of professional workers in the field of literature. In some instances, however, he has had in mind the larger public of serious lovers of literary studies. So, notably, in the excellent articles on "Goethe's Ideas of Immortality," "Hölderlin and the Greeks," and "In Memory of Klopstock," all of which date from the last three or four years. Here, too, the author's style, usually tending toward abstract, severely analytical modes of expression, becomes warmer, richer, and more animated, though even in the fine essay devoted to Klopstock (p. 466) four full lines of "participial modifiers" (thirty-two words!) are permitted to separate an article from its noun.

It must be a matter of regret that the volume, which in paper, print, and general make-up deserves all commendation, is not as free as might be reasonably expected from errata and other minor inaccuracies that should not have escaped the care of the proof readers. I have more or less casually noted the following: p.9, *gelegt*; *gehegt*; p.161, period after *hatte*; p.169, *den* before *Armen*; p.182, *seine*: *seiner*; p.256, 1790:1788; p.334, *Säkularausgabe*: *Jubi*

läumsausgabe; p.335 *gleich*: *bald*; p.390, read *geschulter*; p.401, read *barbarischen*; p.439, *Zerren*: *Zieren*; p.478, omit *er*; p.479, *dem*: *den*; p.491, *Des*: *Der*; p.523, *einzunehmen*: *anzunehmen*; *ibid.*, *sein*: *ein*; p.533, the quotation from *Jubiläumsausgabe* 39, 255 is not in order. Instead of *die*, we read “*die gegen*; *vollbringt*: *vollbringe*.”

In his introduction the author states that after careful consideration he abstained from any real revision of the older articles, but reprinted them substantially as they had appeared originally. One can well understand such a decision; but it would seem that in that case brief foot-notes might with advantage have called attention to matters of detail no longer in agreement with present knowledge or with the author's changed interpretation. As it is, the statement, e.g., of 1922 (on p.318) concerning the first attempt of Mephistopheles to approach Faust (in the *Urfaust*) contradicts what on p.348 appears in a paper from the year 1908.

Any detailed discussion of the rich content of the volume is, of course, impossible here. Suffice it to say that almost without exception these articles, now made easily accessible to libraries and individual scholars, are the ripe fruits of research activities which, far as they may seem to roam, are held together by a “*geistiges Band*” of inner unity. They moreover combine a spirit of strictly scholarly objectivity with a wholesome and sympathetic regard for what to the author are the significant movements and needs of the present. For Professor Petsch is convinced that a German culture of genuine promise is impossible where there is not a living contact with the fundamental values of the classical period of German idealism.

A. R. HOHLFELD

University of Wisconsin

Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne. By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. 232 pp. The Macmillan Company, 1925. \$2.50.

The first two essays in this volume exhibit very clearly the influence of the *Commedia dell' Arte* on *Love's Labour's Lost* and the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Armado and Holofernes are simply the braggart *capitano* and the pedant transferred to the English stage. In the same fashion, both plot and characters of the other comedy are modelled after Italian patterns. Not quite so convincingly, the author attributes some peculiar features of *Love's Labour's Lost* to the fact that it was first given as a royal entertainment. Its out-of-door setting, its episodic structure, the disparity in length of its acts, and finally its inconclusive ending are said to reproduce what was customary in the pastimes offered the Queen on her Progresses. If so, the play is an entertainment representing an entertainment, as the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is a play representing a play. But to explain Shakespeare's odd ending in this way seems a little fantastic.

In an article on Shakespearean Quartos Professor Fries brings forward the principles of punctuation given by five contemporary writers, to establish the conclusion that the punctuation of Shakespeare's plays is largely structural and so arbitrary as to help little in the interpretation of the text. Professor Bredvold's exposition of Donne's religious thought, the last study in the volume, is clear and helpful. To understand the relation between the youthful poet's

thought and the skepticism of Sextus Empiricus and Montaigne and his advance, partly under the influence of Augustine, to a more mystical philosophy, helps one to a comprehension of Donne's strange and complex personality.

Almost one half of the volume, however, is given over to two studies of Milton's poetry. In the first paper, on "The Youth of Milton," Professor Hanford traces the poet's artistic development as it is revealed in the poems themselves and in passages of the prose. That DuBartas, Ovid and Buchanan, Petrarch and the Italian poets, and Spenser influenced the English poet has been generally known; but never before has the exact nature of the relationships been thoroughly and artistically explained. The inference, we feel, is hardly justified that Milton passed successively through the separate periods and that no two influences operated together in forming his character and ideals. He must have known Plato, and probably Spenser, before any suggestion of such knowledge appears in his poetry. One might question, therefore, such a statement as this: "we can fix the moment of the change with considerable precision," as well as the assumption that all Milton's work was the result of a rigidly preconceived plan. Could he not have considered political matters before he gave up his intention of entering the church? These, however, are mere details. By his discriminating remarks on individual poems and by placing each one in its proper relation to the others, Professor Hanford brings out their true significance and makes them seem, what they are, something much more than accidental exercises in versification. The second paper, on *Samson Agonistes*, is especially valuable for its fine evaluation of *Paradise Regained* and its interpretation of the tragic struggle of the play.

University of Iowa

HENNING LARSEN

Meddelelser fra Norsk Forening for Sprogvidenskap. Vol. I, part 1. H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1925.

In the fall of 1923 a small group of scholars organized the Norsk Forening for Sprogvidenskap to stimulate coöperation in general linguistic research in Norway. To aid investigators in keeping abreast of the always increasing mass of publications, it was decided to publish a yearbook stressing reviews of significant books but also giving space to special studies in the purely linguistic field. That the work of the organization may prove useful to as many as possible, the bulk of the yearbook will be published in one of the three principal languages (English, French, or German). Volume I, part 1, which now has been issued promises well, and should be of value to anyone interested in linguistics. It contains in all reviews of fifteen books or journals and one general review of the progress of North Friesian dialect studies. Membership in the organization, which entitles one to the publications, is open to foreigners for the moderate sum of ten Norwegian kroner. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, Dr. Alf Sommerfelt, Sandbakken, Ostre Aker, Oslo.

University of Iowa

HENNING LARSEN

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, a new edition revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones, with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Part I, 'Α—Αποβαίνω, Pp. xliv + 192. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

Originally based upon Passow's *Lexicon* (1819) and adaptations of Stephanus' *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1819-28 and 1831-64), Liddell and Scott has for eighty-three years been the indispensable companion of English-speaking Greek scholars, and in several respects its sequence of editions has been superior to anything successively available to Hellenists of non-English lands. With the exception of the third (1849) and eighth (1897) editions, substantial enlargements were made at every revision. For the seventh edition (1882) assistance was received from American scholars (Drisler, Goodwin, and Gildersleeve), an aberration which was not repeated in 1925. The present work is, in effect, a ninth edition, though that fact does not appear upon the title page.

The format and type are approximately the same as in the seventh and eighth editions, and 192 pp. are needed to cover the same limits of vocabulary ('Α—'Αποβαίνω) as occupied 175 pp. before, an increase of about 10%. Further space has been acquired by a more compendious system of references, by reducing etymological information "to a minimum," and by excluding both Patristic and Byzantine literature from the purview of the new edition. On the other hand, an attempt has been made to fill previous gaps in the lexicon especially with reference to ancient science, newly recovered literary texts, non-literary papyri, and inscriptional material, and to provide more numerous citations of usage from Greek philosophy (not only Plato and Aristotle but also the later writers) and the new Testament. As illustrating the greater accuracy in such matters the editor himself calls attention (p. IX, and n. 1) to the fact that even in the seventh edition it was stated that the word μετμεψύχωσις "seems to be of no authority" and that in the eighth edition it was cited from but one writer (Proclus). As a matter of fact, examples of its use can now be cited from ten additional authors!

In view of my own special studies, it is natural that I should first have ascertained what technical terms of scenic antiquities fall within the scope of this first part and what treatment has been accorded them. Neither the seventh edition nor the ninth contains ἀγνοῖς (Hsch. and Plu., *Prov.*). Nor do they recognize the theatrical applications of ἀγορά (Phot.), αἰώρα (Poll. IV. 131), and ἀναβαθμοί (Poll. IV. 139). The new article on ἀναβάδην (Ar., *Ach.* 399 and 410) suffers from excessive condensation. On the other hand, the phrase αἰγείρου θέα is introduced into the definition of αἰγ. More important than any of these, however, are ἀντίσκηνος and ἀναβαίνω. The former is a new ἀπαξ λεγόμενον occurring in an inscription which was unearthed a few years ago in the theater at Ephesus (cf. *Philological Quarterly*, V [1926], 102), and it pleased me to find that it had not escaped the editors of the new revision. As regards ἀναβαίνω, what interested me is found under II (special usages): "6.in Att., ἀ. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, or ἀ. alone, *mount the tribune, rise to speak*, D. 18.66,21.205, *Prooem.* 56; ἀ. εἰς τὸ πλήθος or ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον *come before the people, before the court*, Pl. *Ap.*31c, 40b, *Grg.*486b; α. ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρεβάντα *mount the stage*, Id. *Smp.* 194b: abs., ἀνάβαινε Ar. *Eq.*

149; ἀνάβηθι Id. V. 963; of witnesses in court, Lys. 1.29." To put it mildly, these statements are inadequate. They sound as if written by one ignorant of the "stage" question, which Dr. Dörpfeld created as a problem for scholarship between 1886 and 1896 and which is still *sub iudice*, and as if ignorant in particular of the controversies which have been waged over these passages in Plato's *Symposium* and in Aristophanes. And in fact this is exactly what has happened, for these words have, in essence, been brought over *verbatim* from the seventh edition (1882) and perhaps may be traced even further back. In the light of all the developments during the last forty years I consider such a procedure inexcusable, and I hope that it will not be repeated *s.v.* ὁρίβας. To those that are not interested in scenic antiquities compensation may be found in the fact that the "special usages" of ἀναβαίνω have been expanded from seven to ten.

Of the marginalia which my own reading has deposited upon the pages of my copy of the seventh edition, naturally most are to be found in the new volume, but some have escaped. Many of these come from Plutarch, an important late writer concerning whom nothing is said in the Preface in connection with Lucian, the later philosophers, and others to whom the editors sought to give better representation in the ninth edition. Thus I miss references to ἀγέρωχος (*Art.* 27), ἀλφός (*Art.* 23). ἀναλαμβάνω in the sense II, 4 (*Nic.* 14), ἀναμάχομαι in the unrecognized sense of "fight down" (*Dio* 18), ἀνυγραίνω (*Pel.* 19), and ἀπεσσοῦσα (*Alc.* 28). Poll. IV. 24 ought to have been cited for ἀγαλάπιον; E., *I.T.* 832 for ἀδάκρυς (conjectured by Musgrave); *ibid.* 459 and *Ph.* 203 for ἀροθίνια; X., *Mem.* IV. 2.33 for ἀνασπαστός; S., *Ant.* 1109 for ἀξίνη, and Luc., *Somn.* 7 for ἀλλότριος φθόνον. For ἀνακεφαλαίωσις "recapitulation" would be a better translation than "summary." [The foregoing references will serve to illustrate the new system of saving space in citations.] The author of the article dealing with ἀθανατίζω would have profited from a perusal of Linforth's article in *Class. Philol.*, XIII (1918), 23-33, especially 27. Incidentally, this is one of several valuable periodicals which are omitted from the list on pp. xxxviii f. In fact, *Am. Journal of Archaeology* and *Am. Journal of Philology* are the only American publications to gain this recognition, even the *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* failing to appear!

These small criticisms are naturally of varying degrees of importance, but they are at least significant as indicating that there is still room for betterment. On the other hand, they ought not to blind our eyes to the tremendous improvements that Professor Jones and his coadjutors have wrought. The completion of their task, which is promised for an early date, will place the world of Hellenists in their debt for a century. Not the least serviceable feature of Part I. is the revised list of Authors and Works, giving their life-dates when known or conjecturable and the best editions of their works. I have already had occasion to avail myself of the information therein provided.

R. C. F.

Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View, by Otto Jespersen. (*Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning*, Series A, IV.) 221 pp. H. Aschehoug & Co., Oslo, 1925. (American representative, Harvard University Press.)

This is a group of lectures in which Professor Jespersen shows the importance of language to the development of all human culture. His purpose is perhaps best expressed in his own words (pp. 220, 221): "In the course of these lectures I have repeatedly tried to show that something common to all mankind lies concealed behind the varied multiplicity of phenomena. . . . May we then not be permitted to say that our languages with all their diversities disclose the existence of a great common factor in men's trend of thought and men's craving for expression?" It is his belief that this common possession rests upon the fact that any living speech, even the most individual, is "socially conditioned"; that in ordinary conversation one speaks not so much to convey information or to express feeling as to satisfy the craving for sociability. This situation is said to exist among the most primitive as well as the most civilized peoples. If one of the most important functions of language is the creation of sociability, we can better understand the lack of sympathy between the speakers of mutually incomprehensible languages. The importance of an approach toward linguistic homogeneity, even toward an artificial one, is so great for the development of world culture that the author takes the opportunity again to advocate the adoption of an international language.

In chapter VI, "Correct and Good Language," Professor Jespersen is not very clear. In the preceding chapter he has pointed out that none of the commonly accepted standards of linguistic correctness (literary, geographical, aristocratic, etc.) is quite satisfactory. He now asserts that "that which is linguistically correct" is "that which is demanded by the particular linguistic community to which one belongs." But we are still confronted by the question: By what kind of standard does the particular linguistic community decide what to demand?

Among the points brought out in these lectures are two which should not be overlooked. The first, which is of some importance to teachers of modern English, is that the rules of Latin grammar are not the same thing as the laws of logic. The second, which should interest the student of historical language, is that in modern times the tendency toward diversity of dialects is being overcome by the tendency of all speakers of dialects to acquire the predominating language of the nation; even though dialects do become more diversified, the percentage of speakers of the dominant dialect becomes steadily larger.

Chapters VII-X are interesting collections of linguistic phenomena from everywhere, varying from such well known peculiarities as the "polite" pronominal forms in French and German to the oddities of slang, taboo, and thieves' languages.

Not the least valuable contribution of this book is the bibliography, both in the text and in the footnotes.

E. J. BASHE

University of Iowa

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CARLYLE, AND GOETHE'S *SYMBOLUM*

By KUNO FRANCKE
Harvard University

Among all of Carlyle's pithy sayings, none enjoys greater vogue in Germany than his "Work, and despair not!" Indeed, its German version was used early in this century as the title of a widely popular Carlyle Anthology, thus being publicly proclaimed as standing for the very essence of his philosophy of life. And during recent years, particularly since the War, has "Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln" acquired the character of a national shibboleth, a stirring appeal for courage in the midst of suffering and distress.

Curiously enough, this phrase, generally and unhesitatingly accepted in Germany as a gift from Scotland, appears in the text of Carlyle's writings as a translation from a poem of Goethe's. But more curiously still,—although introduced by Carlyle himself as a translation from Goethe, it proves to be in truth Carlyle's own. For the poem of Goethe's which it purports to reproduce contains in point of fact no line equivalent to it.

This strangely complicated intermingling of international relationships may justify a brief comparison of the two poems in question.¹

Goethe's *Symbolum* is not in any sense a great poem. Written in 1815 for the initiation of his son into the Free Mason Lodge at Weimar, it is frankly didactic and obviously moral.² It considers the Masonic activities as symbolic of life. It praises courage in facing an uncertain future. It alludes vaguely to the mystery of death, to the awe felt at the grave, and to the voices from Beyond, counselling goodness and action, and holding out hope.

¹ No such comparison, as far as I see, has been made; although Carlyle's translation was reprinted in the *Monatshefte der Comeniusgesellschaft*, IX (1900), 126.

² *Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe*, II, 231 f.

Des Maurers Wandeln
 Es gleicht dem Leben,
 Und sein Bestreben
 Es gleicht dem Handeln
 Der Menschen auf Erden.

Die Zukunft decket
 Schmerzen und Glücke
 Schrittweis dem Blicke;
 Doch ungeschreckt
 Dringen wir vorwärts.

Und schwer und ferne
 Hängt eine Hülle
 Mit Ehrfurcht. Stille
 Ruht oben die Sterne
 Und unten die Gräber.

Betracht' sie genauer
 Und siehe, so melden
 Im Busen der Helden
 Sich wandelnde Schauer
 Und ernste Gefühle.

Doch rufen von drüben
 Die Stimmen der Geister,
 Die Stimmen der Meister:
 Versäumt nicht zu üben
 Die Kräfte des Guten.

Hier flechten sich Kronen
 In ewiger Stille,
 Die sollen mit Fülle
 Die Tätigen lohnen!
 Wir heissen euch hoffen.

If Carlyle had read this poem before he had familiarized himself with *Wilhelm Meister* and *Faust* and the other great expositions of Goethe's view of life, he probably would not have been particularly stirred by it. But saturated as he was with Goethe's gospel of work and the message of salvation by endless striving, he could not help reading these inspiring ideas even into the sedate and deliberate lines of this poem. That he was intensely stirred by it appears from the frequent allusions to it in one of his most personal and most characteristic productions, the stormy *Past and Present* of 1843 and 1845. Over and over again throughout this impassioned arraignment of modern industrialism and its dehumanizing factory toil, as contrasted with the joyous and liberating effect of mediæval handicraft, there emerge detached lines or single stanzas of Goethe's poem in English garb, for the most part without mention of the author's name. At the end of Book Three, however, after an especially eloquent exaltation of "work as worship," Carlyle can-

not refrain from bursting into words of deep-felt admiration and gratitude for both author and poem, at the same time quoting the whole of his own paraphrase of it:

My ingenuous readers, we will march out of this Third Book with a rhythmic word of Goethe's on our lips; a word which perhaps has already sung itself, in dark hours and in bright, through many a heart. To me, finding it devout yet wholly credible and veritable, full of piety yet free of cant; to me joyfully finding much in it, and joyfully missing so much in it, this little snatch of music, by the greatest German Man, sounds like a stanza in the grand *Road-Song* and *Marching-Song* of our great Teutonic kindred, wending wending, valiant and victorious, through the undiscovered Deeps of Time!³

Carlyle's own version which follows seems to me a masterpiece of divinatory interpretation,⁴ transcending by far both letter and scope of this particular poem, and yet expressing the innermost essence of Goethe's view of the world underlying it, his daily living out the eternal, his never failing trust in the power of the spirit to create its own setting.

The Mason's ways are
A type of Existence,
And his persistence
Is as the days are
Of men in this world.

The future hides in it
Gladness and sorrow;
We press still thorow,
Naught that abides in it
Daunting us,—onward.

And solemn before us,
Veiled, the dark Portal,
Goal of all mortal:—
Stars silent rest o'er us,
Graves under us silent.

While earnest thou gazest,
Comes boding of terror,
Comes phantasm and error,
Perplexes the bravest
With doubt and misgiving.

But heard are the Voices,
Heard are the Sages,
The Worlds and the Ages:
"Choose well, your choice is
Brief and yet endless.

³ *Collected Works* (1864) IX, 254 f.

⁴ Particularly in the final form of 1845. The edition of 1843, besides lacking stanza 4, has some defects in stanzas 2 and 5.

Here eyes do regard you,
 In Eternity's stillness;
 Here is all fulness,
 Ye brave, to reward you!
 Work, and despair not."

Only stanzas one and two are, in the main, on the same level with the original, although even in stanza two man's undaunted pressing onward comes out more forcibly in the English version than in the German. But from here on, there is hardly a line in which Carlyle does not add an impressive and important touch to the German text.

In stanza three, how infinitely superior is Carlyle's massive

And solemn before us,
 Veiled, the dark Portal,
 Goal of all mortal—

to Goethe's shadowy and awkward

Und schwer und ferne
 Hängt eine Hülle
 Mit Ehrfurcht.

How much does the rest of the stanza gain in plastic compactness as well as in sense of awe by the repetition of the word *silent*.

Stanza four contains in Goethe's poem vague and didactic reflections about "passing thrills and sombre sentiments announcing themselves in the bosom of the heroes," as they are facing death. Carlyle goes straight to the core of the matter by addressing the person in front of the dark Portal and depicting the concrete and decidedly individual feelings—

boding of terror, . . .
 phantasm and error—

that fill him with "doubt and misgiving."

What a wonderful improvement, in stanza five, are Carlyle's mystic "Voices," "Sages," "Worlds," and "Ages" upon the threadbare combination of "Meister" and "Geister" in Goethe's lines. And how vastly more significant is the demand for the "brief, yet endless choice," made by Carlyle's representatives of the Beyond, than the moralizing exhortation of Goethe's master souls "not to neglect practicing the powers for good."

And lastly, what a climax of differences in the concluding stanza! In Goethe's version, we have the conventional conception of "wreaths" wound in eternity for the departed; "they are to reward with fulness the active ones." In Carlyle's revision, it is the "eyes" of eternity which greet the departed and which open

to them the fulness of life. The final message of Goethe's spirits is: "We bid you hope!", of Carlyle's: "Work, and despair not!"

In short, there seems to be no question that intuitive understanding of Goethe's innermost character and essential greatness enabled Carlyle to transform even one of the weaker productions of Goethe's into a worthy artistic expression of his genius.

It is to his everlasting credit that he has never claimed this transformation as a poetic accomplishment of his own, but has always remained satisfied with the modest part of translator. One of the great occasions of his old age, his installation in 1866 as Rector of the University of Edinburgh, he used once more as an opportunity to do homage to his great spiritual teacher. He closed his inaugural address with the words: "I will wind-up with a small bit of verse, which is from Goethe, and has often gone through my mind. To me it has something of a modern psalm in it, in some measure. It is deep as the foundations, deep and high, and it is true and clear:—no clearer man, or nobler or grander intellect has lived in the world, I believe, since Shakespeare left it. This is what the poet sings"⁵—and then he recited this very paraphrase of Goethe's *Symbolum*, without the slightest reference to his own changes. The effect produced by it upon the audience has been well described by a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. "The recitation of the beautiful lines from Goethe, at the end," he says, "was so masterly—so marvellous that one felt in it that Carlyle's real anathemas against rhetoric were but the expression of his knowledge that there is a rhetoric beyond all other arts."⁶

Well indeed has Carlyle earned the universal appreciation which his "Arbeiten und nicht verzweifeln" has found in the Germany of today.

⁵ *Rectorial Addresses Delivered before the University of Edinburgh*, ed. by A. Stodart-Walker (1900), p. 109.

⁶ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Carlyle*, by R. H. Shepherd and C. N. Williamson, II, 217.

EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE AND ITS RELATION TO THE LITERATURE OF CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

By ROY J. DEFERRARI
The Catholic University of America

The name of a thing is usually of little consequence, but in the case of this paper's subject, a name is of utmost importance, since the sound of it a few decades ago was sufficient to drive humanists from the periods of Latin and Greek literature it professed to represent, and the sound of it now is a signal for an enthusiastic but injudicious plunging into the literature of those same periods, as if the excellent and the common-place in them were of equal literary appeal. This unhappy name is "Medieval"—Medieval Latin, Medieval Greek—a very proper term in its place but in the misuse of it fashionable in the United States a cause of much misunderstanding and an obstacle to the progress of American scholarship. Because of it a literature of power and beauty has been closed but to the innovating few; because of it vast stores of materials indispensable to the understanding of classical antiquity are generally unsuspected; and not by the way of a humorous anti-climax, let me add, because of it, at least indirectly, many desperate attempts at the Doctorate of Philosophy result in the monograph that is foolish or futile. The Renaissance left to after ages a love for the Greek and Latin classics. The Renaissance imposed on after-ages its master-prejudice against all things medieval. The Renaissance did not condemn to its *Index Librorum* the Greek and Latin Fathers. In point of fact it cultivated the greater of them. But what the Renaissance and immediately succeeding times appreciated and cultivated as literature became labelled with the adjective the Renaissance abhorred. And that label has buried the Fathers in the prejudice against Medievalism until recently prevailing, and misrepresents them now in the far-flung Medieval resurrection. They were banished before as having no connection with the culture of pagan Greece and Rome. They are embraced now as being part and parcel of what modern enthusiasts call Medieval. And while there is no protest here against the enthusiasm for things Medieval

nor attempted disparagement of studies in Medieval Latin and Greek nor implication that the leaders in such studies do not know precisely what they are about, this paper proposes to emphasize to those of us whose professional interest is classical rather than Medieval that the "Fathers" belong to Classicists and not to Medievalists; in other words, that the term "Medieval," admittedly inappropriate to the "Fathers" from the standpoint of the ecclesiastical and theological historian, is also inappropriate from the standpoint of the literary historian; that to the student of literature the term "pagan," while obviously and utterly inadequate, is more fittingly applied to the Fathers, despite their Biblical culture; that whatever name ultimately be found, it must make clear to classical scholars the close literary affiliation of the "Fathers" with their pagan predecessors and contemporaries rather than their religious association with their Christian descendants. It must imply, of course, their Christian inspiration; it must not deny their pagan culture. And in pointing these facts this paper implies the inevitable corollary that our knowledge of the pagan world contemporary with the Fathers falls short of its possibilities until all the Fathers—and not merely Clement of Alexandria, beloved of German research—have given their testimony; and it implies the further corollary that the pursuit of this testimony offers to aspirants for the Doctorate of Philosophy an opportunity commensurate with their abilities, and rich in the training of research—an opportunity sorely needed by classical candidates for that degree.

But before I can proceed to justify my objection I must, as it were, set my own house in order, or at least take cognizance of its confusion. I have a nomenclature problem of my own—a problem which I cannot solve—but for which, in lieu of a solution I must at least suggest a make-shift—even though the unity of this paper be destroyed in the process. This problem is to find the term that will satisfy all those who have a professional right to use the traditional term "Fathers." For the classical scholar alone the term would not be confusing, for it is distinctive enough and involves no chronological difficulty. Patrologists and theologians, historians of theology and historians of literature agree upon the time—limits beyond which the period of the "Fathers" does not extend—i.e., the death of St. Gregory (d. 604) in the West; the death of St. John Damascene in the East (d. 787). But there the general agreement ends. To modern theologians he only is a Father of whom it

can be said: (1) that he is an author, (2) that his works are extant, (3) that he is a Catholic, (4) that his writings are orthodox, (5) that he is a person of eminent sanctity, (6) that he belongs to antiquity. The patrologist and the historian of theology for reasons of their own are one with the student of literature in their inability to apply all these tests. Of these canons only two are historico-literary: the second, that the author's works be extant, and the last, that he belong to antiquity. As for the remaining four canons there are unfortunately a number of authors who are not in all points orthodox, and a number certainly not eminent for sanctity, whose works nevertheless on the score of interest and content certainly belong to the period, and whose literary excellence certainly adds lustre to it. To cast them out because of their theological short-comings alone would be to introduce a religious test into what is purely literary criticism. Yet to accept them as Fathers is obviously inappropriate precisely because of their theological short-comings, for only in a very extended use of the term are heretics "Fathers," are heretics "parents of Christian thought and belief and life."¹ As students of literature we are forced to include them among those whom the theologians acknowledge as "Fathers," but at the same time to look for a term that will do service for all. Here a mighty tradition is against us, a word short and appealing in its very sound and so long resident in the speech of Christian lands that it occupies the field by title of easement, to use a legal term. And whereas we cast aside the word "Medieval," since it is utterly indefensible and since those strangers to the period have not bestirred themselves enough even to coin a traditional nomenclature corresponding to their prejudices, the respectable antiquity, partial truth, and wide acceptance of the word "Fathers" are a force to be reckoned with by those not insensible to the charge of pedantry. But the term must go, not only because of the internal difficulties it harbors when applied to the period above defined, but also because of the confusion it begets from other connections, e.g., "The Fathers of Nicea," "The Fathers of Trent," etc.

Now, as a make-shift, until something better is suggested, I have recourse to a term used by St. Jerome in his *De Viris Illustribus*, i.e., "Ecclesiastical Writers"; and to avoid all possible misconstruction, I would suggest an amendment of his phrase to "Early Ecclesiastical Writers." The wordiness of the term is its great

¹ Cf. Hart, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 1.

short-coming. Something as short as "Fathers" would be more acceptable, but where is the word that will crowd within its small self the distinctions laid down at the beginning of this paper. The phrase "Early *Christian* Writers," much used by continental scholars but also cumbersome, is less acceptable, since certain of the early writers who, by being involved in ecclesiastical affairs, may be called ecclesiastical, by reason of their theological views may not be called Christian, e.g., the writers of the Gnostic sect.

But if "Fathers" is confusing, and "Early Ecclesiastical Writers" only a make-shift, "Medieval"—to pass now to the chief aim of this paper—is simply false. Or, in other words, the Early Ecclesiastical Writers are to be grouped with their pagan predecessors and contemporaries. It will be noted that this period, in the West, corresponds fairly closely with the last period of pagan Latin literature, which is usually ended with Boethius (d. 525). On the Greek side, Krumbacher in the introduction of his *Byzantinische Literaturgeschichte* long ago pointed out that Byzantine literature should be considered as beginning with the establishment of Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire (330), and that all literature before that date should be treated with the last and contemporary products of pagan Greek literature.² We may say then that the Ecclesiastical writers, both Greek and Latin, are contemporaries with the last of the pagan authors, that with the last of the pagan authors they were inheritors of the unbroken traditions of the Empire. They were educated in its schools and well versed in its laws. Some even participated actively in its administration and government. Men like St. Ambrose are types as truly Roman as Symmachus and other public officers who guided the destinies of the Empire in its decline. In language, culture, political ideas, in short in all save religion, they were the direct heirs of Cicero, Augustus, Tacitus and the jurists,—the philosophers, the statesmen, the historians, and the law-givers of Rome. Compare, even cursorily, the writings of an Ambrose or an Augustine with the works of an author like Gregory VII (Hildebrand, d. 1085), and this becomes strikingly evident. The empire of Charlemagne was Roman for the most part only in its appellation. The pope had become the real successor to the Caesars. The usages of feudalism replaced the laws of Rome

² It may be noted here that I cannot do justice to the Greek side of this question in the space at my disposal. This phase, in fact, has been stressed by M. A. Puech, "L'ancienne littérature chrétienne et la philologie classique," in *Atti del Congresso internaz. di scienze storiche*, 1903.

or at least modified them. In fact, in the strictly Medieval period, we find ourselves confronted by a new world of ideas which has nothing in common with classical Rome and the Rome of Augustine (if you exclude religion) save misleading names. Of course the classical tradition did not die out entirely. Cicero and the poets were copied and read; the historians were imitated at times by the Medieval chroniclers; but, after the seventeenth century, this interest was only spasmodic and Classicism with its representatives was regarded as of another people and of another civilization, and not as of their own race and culture. The closer bond lies not between the Early Ecclesiastical writers and Medievalism, but between Early Ecclesiastical writers and Classicism. They produced, on the whole, the same types of literature, and were permeated by the same literary spirit. Thus we find in the literature of Early Ecclesiastical Latin letters, apologies, histories, commentaries, dialogues, orations and some verse. To be sure they also wrote homilies and polemical treatises, which in a way are independent creations of their own, but, after all, homilies are closely akin in technique to orations, and polemical writings contain much that had its origin in the schools of rhetoric. There are differences, of course, due to the mighty change that Christianity wrought in the world, but, when full cognizance is taken of this, the similarity in literary spirit remains.

This similarity is very tangible in the field of rhetoric. The great teacher of rhetoric among the Early Ecclesiastical writers is St. Augustine, chiefly through the fourth book of his *De Doctrina Christiana*. In the rhetorical theory he there teaches and in the practical form that that theory takes in his style, Cicero is stamped on every page. A striking similarity may be seen even in philosophical works, particularly those of St. Ambrose and Cicero. On the linguistic side, during the period in which culture was at its lowest ebb in the West—from the Sixth to the Tenth century—the Latin language underwent many changes of far greater significance than those that mark its development from Cicero to Augustine. Moreover, the language of both Christian and pagan authors of the Early Ecclesiastical period are similar in all phases; i.e., style (chiefly the use of tropes and figures), syntax, and vocabulary. Thus we cannot know the language of Apuleius in its proper perspective without knowing something of the language of Cyprian, Augustine, and other prominent and contemporary Christians. From the many

studies which have already been made and are in progress this is becoming more and more apparent.³ A like condition exists among the Greek writers of this early Christian period, although research here is lagging far behind that of the Latin. I have already said that the one great difference in spirit was caused by the Christian religion. In language, Scripture has affected the style, syntax, and vocabulary of all these early Christian authors to an astounding degree. I might almost say that these products of Christian literature, taken as a whole, are a synthesis of the essence of pagan literature and Scripture. If by some process we could eliminate all of the classical allusions or any other evidence of contact with classical things, and then do likewise for Scripture, we would have little by way of residue.

The corollary to the above facts is too obvious to require development. The Classicist cannot afford to overlook early Christian literature in his search for information on pagan as well as Christian contemporary life. Much has been written about Roman life in the Empire, drawn from pagan authors, but information at our disposal from Christian sources lies scarcely noticed,⁴ if we except the German interest in Clement of Alexandria. The story of the life and times of Roman Africa can be written with proper fullness only after a careful study of the works of the Christians and particularly St. Augustine—his finished works, and his letters and sermons. Similarly for Northern Italy of the Fourth century, the works of St. Ambrose, particularly the letters and sermons are teeming with information about the life of all classes of people. And likewise for other portions of the Roman Empire.

It is true that Wilamowitz, Leo, and others, in those volumes of the series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* which deal with Greek and Roman literature, gave due and proper space for the first time to Early Ecclesiastical literature. It is also true that the Christian sections in "Christ" and "Schanz" bulk larger with each edition, that authors like De Labriolle and Battifol devote volumes to the Christian side alone, but this very segregation, however necessary it may be for the editors and authors of such works, still persuades many classicists to view the Early Ecclesiastical writers as a field foreign to their own interests.

³ Cf. bibliography in Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, also *The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies*, edited by Roy J. Deferrari.

⁴ Cf. the early portion of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, where Early Ecclesiastical literature is mentioned as source material, but little used.

As an epilogue to the foregoing, the field of Patristic studies offers many needed opportunities for the university teacher and the young investigator. Classical subjects in their narrow sense have been ruthlessly investigated, and while by no means exhausted, present opportunities for work which for the most part demand the mind of a mature and highly trained scholar. There is little at hand for the industrious worker of average ability or for the inexperienced candidate for the degree Ph.D., which is at once within the compass of his powers and sufficiently important to justify an expenditure of much hard labour. This may account in part for the present epidemic of dissertations based on questionnaires regarding the teachers' or the pupils' reaction against this or that phase of the high school curriculum. Furthermore, we not uncommonly read in reviews of doctoral dissertations in Greek and Latin, that the subject is too broad or beyond the powers of the writer; again, that the subject is of no real importance for a better understanding of ancient civilization, the main purpose of the work being apparently to complete certain partial requirements for the doctorate; and again, that the dissertation, while perhaps interesting, contains no real contribution to our knowledge of classical antiquity, but is rather a compilation from modern works. Now all this is largely inevitable in the present state of things within the strictly classical field, and I believe it is having a bad effect on the spirit of graduate studies. The newly developed Doctor of Philosophy usually finishes a piece of work that leads him to nothing beyond itself, or that in no way tempts him to continue independent study, whether he settles for his life's work in a preparatory school, college, or university. If he happens to have the habit of research deeply ingrained, he finds an outlet for his energies in the active field of excavation, or in the study of antiquities as made possible by the findings of excavators. Very few persevere in the field of philology in the "Wolfian" sense, and this I fear, in spite of the increase in the study of classical life and civilization *per se*, will lead to generations of classical scholars destined to understand this very classical life and civilization less and less.

Now the field of Early Ecclesiastical Literature, or Patristics, if you will, by its close affinity with Classicism offers a wealth of material of the true philological sort for the activities of classical scholars, both young and old. I do not suggest a revolutionary shifting of interest from the Golden Ages of Greek and Latin cul-

ture to an age which on the whole must be called decadent in æstheticism. I propose merely that the interest of Latinists be properly distributed over the various periods of Latin literature, the Early Ecclesiastical period receiving its due attention. In a four or six year high school course in Latin something of this nature might be done; certainly in college and university curricula the literature of this period ought to be represented.

In more advanced studies, when, in the training of candidates for the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy, the time comes to introduce them to the principles of scientific research, and to start them on their first task of original investigation, we ordinarily seek a subject not because it belongs to this or that period of Roman or Greek civilization, but because, first, it is within the powers of the average graduate student; secondly, it will give the student the necessary experiences for the development of a feeling for sound scholarship, and will inspire him to enter on other projects of research; and lastly, because it will yield worth-while results. Such topics abound in the field of Early Ecclesiastical literature. Thus, to enumerate a few of the outstanding types of subjects, most of the patristic texts are at present available to us only with the many imperfections which necessarily arise from a poor system (or lack of a system) of textual criticism, and from poor printing. Again, many literary gems, of moderate compass, whose beauties lie hidden in the crudeness of their format, await the investigators who will set these fine qualities forth in well-ordered commentaries. In language, a number of studies have already been made of the outstanding authors of the period, e.g., Julian and St. Basil, Jerome, Cyprian, Arnobius, Minucius Felix, parts of Ambrose and Augustine, but a great deal still remains to be done before the much needed special grammar of Early Ecclesiastical or Patristic Latin can be completed. All the works at least of the foremost authors of the period must be studied with the greatest detail to procure the basic material for such a work. This offers a rich field of labor for the university student, because such studies should be conducted historically, aiming to show just what place the Latin under discussion holds in the whole history of the language, and this develops in the student a sound and deep knowledge of all Latin, that will ever support him in classroom and study. Such linguistic investigations have three phases—syntax, vocabulary, and style—which may be taken separately or in any combination. Purely

literary topics also abound, such as the study of the beginnings of new and the development of old literary norms. Finally, the study of antiquities and matters of daily life, *realien*, is big with opportunity.

All that has just been said about opportunities for research and study in Early Ecclesiastical literature may with equal justification be said of Medieval Latin, properly so-called. My object, however, has been to help rescue a rich period of Latin and Greek literature, the richest of the Christian literature, from undue neglect, by reason of its close association with Christianity and Medievalism. In every age since the Renaissance there have been scholars who have appreciated the literary excellence of these writers, investigators who seemed to grasp something of their value as witnesses to classical antiquity, but no one, so far as I have been able to observe, has faced squarely the fact that in a literary way they are a part of that classical antiquity, Christian certainly, revealing on their every page their profound possession of Scriptures but classical too.

AN INTRODUCTORY BOCCACCIO BIBLIOGRAPHY

By ERNEST H. WILKINS
University of Chicago

It is hoped that this bibliography may prove helpful both to students who are beginning work in the field of Boccaccio scholarship and to scholars in other fields who may desire guidance in consulting editions of Boccaccio and in controlling the field of Boccaccio criticism and research.

In Part I, my aim has been to list for each of the several works (or groups or portions of works) the edition having the best text. If that edition is annotated, I have noted the fact. If not, I have indicated the edition having the best notes, in the cases in which such notes are now significant. In the case of works existing only in 15th and 16th century editions (see **39, 45, 46, 49, 50** and **55**) I have indicated the first edition as the best,¹ unless there is specific reason (as there is in the case of **46**) to consider a later edition preferable. Certain current editions which, while having no textual authority, have the advantage of being in print and inexpensive, are mentioned in footnotes introduced by the words "Current edition."

Part I affords, incidentally, the first complete list of the works of Boccaccio.

In Part II, after mentioning the volume of Hauvette, which is now the normal point of departure for the study of any Boccaccio problem, I have listed bibliographies of works of and on Boccaccio. The bibliographies listed under XLV and XLVIa are complete in intention, and are in fact very satisfactory for the periods they cover. Unfortunately no such complete bibliographies exist for the period after 1908. The most significant editions of works of Boccaccio published since 1908 are, however, those listed in Part I of the present bibliography. For works on Boccaccio the selective bibliographies listed under XLVIb cover fairly well the period 1909-1913.

¹ See my study, "The Genealogy of the Editions of the *Genealogia deorum*," in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 77-78.

I am gladly indebted to my colleague Rudolph Altrocchi for help in the preparation of this bibliography.

PART I. THE BEST EDITIONS OF THE WORKS OF BOCCACCIO

A. THE ITALIAN WORKS

I. COLLECTED WORKS:²

- 1-17: *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by I. Moutier, 17 vols., Florence, Magheri, 1827-1834.

Contains some material which is of uncertain authenticity or unauthentic: see below under 14, 16 and 17. Lacks some material which is authentic or of uncertain authenticity: certain lyrics (see below under 16), the shorter form of the work referred to below as No. XVII, and the works referred to below as Nos. XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII and XXIV. Will be superseded by the Boccaccio volumes of the *Scrittori d'Italia* series: see 21 and 23. The several volumes are:

- 1-4: *Decameron*, 1827.

- 5: *Decameron* (concluded) and *Corbaccio*, 1828.

- 6: *Fiammetta*, 1829.

- 7-8: *Filocolo*, 1829.

- 9: *Teseide*, 1831.

- 10-12: *Comento alla Divina commedia*, 1831-1832.

- 13: *Filostrato*, 1831.

- 14: *Amorosa visione*, 1833; and *Caccia di Diana*, 1832.

The *Caccia di Diana* is of uncertain authenticity.

- 15: *Vita di Dante* (longer form), 1833; and *Ameto*, 1834.

- 16: *Rime*, 1834; and *Urbano*, 1834.

This edition of the *Rime* contains some lyrics which are of uncertain authenticity or unauthentic, and lacks some which are authentic or of uncertain authenticity. The canon is established in 29. The *Rime* as here printed include the work referred to below as No. V. The *Urbano* is unauthentic.

- 17: *Ninfale fiesolano*, 1834; and *Lettere*, 1834.

This edition of the letters contains those listed below, No. XII, as *c*, *e*, *f*, *g* and *h*.

² Current edition: Giovanni Boccacci, *Opere minori*, ed. by F. Costèro, Milan, Sonzogno, 1879. This contains *Ameto*, *Corbaccio*, *Fiammetta*, and the letter to Pino de' Rossi.

II. ANTHOLOGIES :

- 18: *Antologia delle opere minori di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by G. Gigli, Florence, Sansoni, 1907.

Contains selections from *Ameto*, *Amorosa visione*, *Comento*, *Corbaccio*, *Fiammetta*, *Filocolo*, *Filostrato*, *Lettere*, *Ninfale fiesolano*, *Rime*, *Teseide*, *Vita di Dante* (longer form) and the complete work referred to below as No. V. Annotated.

- 19: *Extraits de Boccace*, ed. by H. Hauvette, Paris, Garnier, 1901.

Contains selections from *Comento*, *Corbaccio*, *Decameron*, *Ninfale fiesolano* and the *Vita di Dante* (shorter form). Annotated.

- 20: *Le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio scelte ed illustrate*, ed. by N. Zingarelli, Naples, Perrella, 1913.

Contains selections from *Ameto*, *Amorosa visione*, *Corbaccio*, *Decameron*, *Fiammetta*, *Filocolo*, *Filostrato*, *Ninfale fiesolano*, *Rime*, *Teseide* and the *Vita di Dante* (longer form). Annotated.

III-XVII. AUTHENTIC INDIVIDUAL WORKS :

III. AMETO :³

In 15.⁴

The best text of the dedicatory letter (which stands at the end of the *Ameto*) is in 26.

IV. AMOROSA VISIONE : In 14.⁵

V. ARGOMENTI IN TERZA RIMA ALLA DIVINA COMMEDIA DI DANTE ALIGHIERI :

- In 21: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il commento alla Divina commedia e gli altri scritti intorno a Dante*, ed. by D. Guerri, 3 vols., Bari, Laterza, 1918 (=Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere volgari*, Vols. XII-XIV=*Scrittori d'Italia*, Nos. 84-86), Vol. III, pp. 233-256.

Critical text, edited from autograph MSS.

VI. COMENTO ALLA DIVINA COMMEDIA :

Text: In 21, Vol. I, p. 109-Vol. III, p. 232.
Critical text. See also below, No. XXI.

- Notes: 22: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Dal Commento sopra la Commedia di Dante: letture scelte*, ed. by O. Zenatti, Rome, Società editrice Dante Alighieri, 1900.

³ Sometimes called *Commedia delle ninfe fiorentine*.

⁴ Current edition: see n. 2.

⁵ Current edition: ed. by D. Ciampoli, Lanciano, Carabba, 1911 (in the series *Scrittori italiani e stranieri*).

- VII. CORBACCIO:⁶ In 5.⁷
- VIII. DECAMERON:
 Text: 23: Ed. by A. F. Massèra, 2 vols., Bari, Laterza, 1927 (=Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere volgari*, vols. VII-VIII=*Scrittori d'Italia*, Nos. 97-98).
 Notes: 24: Ed. by M. Scherillo, Milan, Hoepli, 1914.
- IX. FIAMMETTA: 6.⁸
- X. FILOCOLO: 25: Ed. by E. de Ferri, 2 vols., Turin, Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1921-1922 (=Collezione di classici italiani con note, Vols. XIV-XV).
 Annotated.⁹
- XI. FILOSTRATO: 13.¹⁰
 The best text of the prefatory letter is in 26.
- XII. LETTERE: In 26: *Le lettere edite e inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by F. Corazzini, Sansoni, 1877.
 Contains eight letters in Italian, of which one is a translation of a Latin original of which only a fragment is preserved, one is probably a translation of a lost Latin original, and one is unauthentic. The several letters are as follows:
 a (pp. 1-7). The prefatory letter of the *Teseide*.
 b (pp. 9-16). The prefatory letter of the *Filostrato*.
 c (pp. 17-18). To Niccola Acciaiuoli. Probably a translation of a lost Latin original.
 d (pp. 19-20). The dedicatory letter of the *Ameto*.
 e (pp. 21-24). To Francesco de' Bardi. The introductory part of this letter is in Italian; the main part is in Neapolitan.

⁶ Sometimes called *Laberinto d'amore*.

⁷ Current edition: ed. by L. Sorrento, in *Bibliotheca romanica*, Nos. 157-158, Strassburg, Heitz, 1912.

⁸ Current edition: ed. by G. Gigli, in *Bibliotheca romanica*, Nos. 121-122, Strassburg, Heitz, c. 1910.

⁹ 25 is divided into seven books, 7-8 into five. There is precedent among the early editions for each type of division. Books I and II are the same in both editions, except that in 25 the break between Books II and III comes a little earlier than in 7, at a point which in 7 falls on page 207. With this minor exception, Books III and IV of 25 correspond together to Book III of 7. The break between Books III and IV in 25 comes at a point which in 7 falls on page 287. Books V and VI of 25 correspond together to Book IV of 8. The break between Books V and VI of 25 comes at a point which in 8 falls on page 126. Book VII of 25 is the same as Book V of 8.

¹⁰ Current edition: ed. by P. Savj-Lopez, in *Bibliotheca romanica*, Nos. 146-148, Strassburg, Heitz, 1912. Recent English translation: tr. by H. Cummings, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1924.

- f* (pp. 67-97). To Pino de' Rossi.¹¹
g (pp. 131-171). To Francesco Nelli. A translation of a Latin original of which only a fragment is preserved (see 53).
h (pp. 437-438). To Cino da Pistoia. Unauthentic.

Better edition of *e*:

- 27: F. Nicolini, "La lettera di Giovanni Boccaccio a Franceschino de' Bardi," in *Archivio storico italiano*, S. VII, II (1924), 5-102.
 Annotated.

XIII. NINFALE FIESOLANO:

- 28: Ed. by A. F. Massèra, Turin, Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1926 (= *Collezione di classici italiani con note*, Series II, Vol. XIII).
 Critical text. Annotated.

XIV. RIME:

- Text: 29: Ed. by A. F. Massèra, Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1914 (= *Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua*, No. 103).
 Critical text. Has an appendix containing 29 sonnets of uncertain authenticity. Text reprinted in 30.

Notes: In 30: G. Boccacci, *La caccia di Diana e le Rime*, ed. by A. F. Massèra, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1914 (= *Collezione di classici italiani con note*, No. 1).

Reprinted, Turin, Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1919 (as Vol. XVI of the same collection).

XV. RUBRICHE IN PROSA ALLA DIVINA COMMEDIA:

In 21, Vol. III, pp. 257-271.

Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

XVI. TESEIDE:

9.

The best text of the prefatory letter is in 26.

XVII. VITA DI DANTE:¹²

Longer form:

Text: In 21, Vol. I, pp. 1-63.

Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

Notes: In 31: O. Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, Florence, Sansoni, 1903, pp. 30-200.

¹¹ Current edition: see n. 2.

¹² Entitled, in the autograph MS of the longer form, *De origine vita studii et moribus clarissimi viri Dantis Aligerii Florentini poetae et de operibus compositis ab eodem*. Sometimes called *Trattatello in laude di Dante*.

Shorter form:

Primo compendio:

Text: **32**: *La vita di Dante, Testo del così detto compendio attribuito a Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by E. Rostagno, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1899 (= *Biblioteca storico-critica della letteratura dantesca*, Nos. II-III).

Critical text. The parts of the *Primo compendio* which are not found in the *Secondo compendio* are reprinted in **21**, Vol. I, pp. 90-107.

Notes: In **33**: *Le vite di Dante scritte da Giovanni e Filippo Villani, da Giovanni Boccaccio, Leonardo Aretino e Giannozzo Manetti*, ed. by G. L. Passerini, Florence, Sansoni, 1917, pp. 69-71.

Secondo compendio:

In **21**, Vol. I, pp. 65-107.

Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

XVIII-XXIV. WORKS OF UNCERTAIN AUTHENTICITY:

XVIII. AVE MARIA IN RIMA:

34: Ed. by F. Zambrini, Imola, Galeati, 1874.

XIX. CACCIA DI DIANA: In **30**.

Annotated.

XX. CONTRASTO TRA ANNIBALE E SCIPIONE:

35: Ed. by A. Mabellini, in *Gazzetta della Domenica*, II (1881), May 22.

Two stanzas. Reprinted as *Due poesie inedite di Giovanni Boccacci*, Fano, Paravia, 1888.

XXI. NOTE TO INFERNO XIX, 13-21:

In **36**: P. Toynbee, "An alleged note by Boccaccio on *Inferno* XIX, 13-21," in *Modern Language Review*, XV (1920).

A few lines of prose.

XXII. RIME:

Text: In **29**, Appendix.

Reprinted in **30**, Appendix.

Notes: In **30**, Appendix.

XXIII. VITA DI SOCRATE:

37: Imola, Galeati, 1879 (*per nozze Berti-Stefani*).

XXIV. VOLGARIZZAMENTO DELLE DECHE TERZA E QUARTA DI TITO LIVIO:

Third Decade:

Books I-II: **38**: *I primi quattro libri del volgarizzamento della terza deca di Tito Livio padovano attribuito a Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. by C. Baudi del Vesme, 2 vols., Bologna, Ro-

magnoli, 1875 and 1876 (= *Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII*, Nos. 143 and 153).

Other books: **39**: *La prima deca di Tito Livio padovano historico . . . La . . . deca terza . . . La quarta deca . . .*, Rome, appresso al Palatio di san Marco, 1476.

Fourth Decade:

In **40**: *Le deche di T. Livio, volgarizzamento del buon secolo*, ed. by F. T. Pizzorno, Vol. V, Savona, Sambolino, 1842.

XXV. UNAUTHENTIC WORKS:

For such works see above, **16**, and No. **XIIh**; also **29**, pp. iv-vi; also **65**, Nos. 138, 272 *bis* and 994.

B. THE LATIN WORKS¹³

XXVI-XXXVI. AUTHENTIC WORKS:

XXVI. BUCCOLICUM CARMEN:¹⁴

41: Ed. by G. Lidonnici, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1914 (= *Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari*, Nos. 131-135).

Critical text, edited from the autograph MS. Annotated.

Earlier form of Eclogue III:¹⁵

In **42**: H. Hauvette, "Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne," in *École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIV (1894), 139-145.

Diplomatic text, from the autograph MS.

XXVII. CARMINA:

a. *Italiae sublimis honor, generosa Petrarcae*:

In **26**, pp. 243-251.

On the *Africa*.

b. *Postquam fata sinunt armis furialibus omnem*:¹⁶

In **43**: A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del*

¹³ For translations of the Latin works see **43**, pp. 795-872.

¹⁴ Recent English translation of Eclogue XIV: tr. by I. Gollancz, in *Pearl*, ed. by I. Gollancz, Oxford, University Press, 1921, Appendix.

¹⁵ Facsimile reproduction of the autograph MS containing this work, those hereafter indicated by the numbers XXVIIb, XXXI, XXXV, XXXVIIb, and the five letters bracketed under XXXIII: *Lo Zibaldone Boccacesco Mediceo Laurenziano Pht. XXIX-8, riprodotto in facsimile*, ed. by the R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, with preface by G. Biagi, Florence, Olschki, 1915.

¹⁶ See n. 15.

Boccaccio, Trieste, Dase, 1879, pp. 351-352.

To Cecco da Mileto.

c. *Ytalie iam certus honos, cui tempora lauro*:

In 44: O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Brunswick, 1902, pp. 12-26.

To Petrarch, on Dante. Critical text. Annotated.

XXVIII. DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM:

First (shorter) form:

45: Paris, Gourmont, c. 1518.

Second (longer) form:

46: Ed. by H. Ziegler, Augsburg, Uhlhard, 1544.

Annotated. The best text of the prefatory letter is in 26, pp. 363-367.

Better text of two passages in both forms:

In 47: H. Hauvette, "Recherches sur le 'De casibus virorum illustrium,'" in *Entre camarades*, Paris, Alean, 1901, pp. 284-288.

XXIX. DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS:

First form:

A few passages: In 43, pp. 111-113.

A few passages:

In 48: G. Traversari, "Appunti sulle redazioni del 'De claris mulieribus' di Giovanni Boccaccio," in *Miscellanea di studi critici pubblicati in onore di Guido Mazzoni dai suoi discepoli*, Vol. I, Florence, Tipografia Galileiana, 1907, pp. 228-231, 237-243.

Second form: 49: Strassburg, Husner, c. 1477.

The best text of the prefatory letter is in 26, pp. 231-234.

XXX. DE MONTIBUS, SYLVIS, FONTIBUS, LACUBUS, FLUMINIBUS, STAGNIS SEU PALUDIBUS, DE NOMINIBUS MARIS:

50: Venice, Wendelin of Speier, 1473.

Lines on the Arno:

In 43, p. 257.

Thirteen hexameters, lacking in the editions.

XXXI. DE MUNDI CREATIONE:¹⁷

In 43, pp. 357-361.

XXXII. DE VITA ET MORIBUS FR. PETRARCAE:

In 51:¹⁸ D. Rossetti, *Petrarca, Giul. Celso e Boc-*

¹⁷ See n. 15.

¹⁸ The work of the Marquis de Valori, *Document historique de Boccace sur*

caccio, Trieste, Marenigh, 1828, pp. 317-324.

Annotated (pp. 359 ff.).

XXXIII. EPISTOLAE:

In prose:

In general:

In 26.

Contains 22 letters in Latin prose, one letter in Italian which is a translation of a Latin original of which only a fragment is preserved (see XIIg and 53), and one letter in Italian which is probably a translation of a lost Latin original (see XIIc). Has Italian translations of most of the Latin letters. Slightly annotated.

Better texts of letters contained in 26:¹⁹

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Crepor celsitudinis</i> | } : ²⁰ |
| <i>Mavortis miles</i> | |
| <i>Nereus amphytritibus</i> | |
| <i>Quam pium</i> | |
| <i>Sacre famis</i> | |

52: *Le lettere autografe di Giovanni Boccaccio del codice laurenziano XXIX*, 8, ed. by G. Traversari, Castelfiorentino, Società storica della Valdelsa, 1905 (= *Raccolta di studi e testi valdelsani*, No. IV).

Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

Si satis:

In 44, pp. 162-171.

The dedicatory letter of the *Genealogia deorum gentilium*. Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

Letters not contained in 26:

... *ipsum scripturum crederem:*

In 53: F. Patetta, "Frammento del testo latino dell' Epistola del Boccaccio a Francesco Nelli," in *Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di Giovanni Sforza*, Lucca, Baroni, 1920, pp. 727-730.

Fragment of the letter to Francesco Nelli of which the remainder is extant only in an Italian translation (see XIIg). Critical text.

Suscepi, dilectissime:

In 54: M. Vattasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici*, Roma, Tipografia vaticana, 1904 (= *Studi e testi*, No. 14), pp. 23-28.

Pétrarque, Avignon, Fischer, 1851, is not accessible to me. The text therein contained may be better than that in 51. See 43, pp. 786-787.

¹⁹ The work of A. Wesselofsky, *Joannis Boccacci ad Maghinardum de Cavalantibus epistolae tres*, St. Petersburg, 1876, is not accessible to me. The text therein contained may be better than that in 26.

²⁰ See n. 15.

To Barbato di Sulmona. Critical text. Annotated.

In verse: See above, No. XXVII, *b* and *c*.

XXXIV. GENEALOGIA DEORUM GENTILIUM:

First form: 55: Venice, Wendelin of Speier, 1472.

Second form, in part:

In 44, pp. 93 ff.

Contains the dedicatory letter, the proems of Books II-XIII, and Books XIV and XV entire. Critical text, edited from the autograph MS.

XXXV. NOTE ON THE CORONATION OF PETRARCH:²¹

In 42, pp. 115-118.

Diplomatic text, edited from the autograph MS.

XXXVI. VITA S. PETRI DAMIANI:

Two passages:

In 56: C. Cavedoni, "Indicazione di un manuscritto inedito contenente la vita di S. Pier Damiano scritto da Giovanni Boccaccio," in *Memorie della Reale Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Modena*, I, iii (1858), 122-124.

Compendium of a life by Giovanni Laudense. Annotated.

XXXVII-XLII. WORKS OF UNCERTAIN AUTHENTICITY:

XXXVII. CARMINA:

a. *Quando erit obscuri laribus contentus Amicle*:

In 43, pp. 350-351.

To an unknown addressee.

b. *Tu qui segura procedis mente, parumper*:²²

In 43, pp. 353-356.

Dialogue between a buried maiden and a passer-by.

XXXVIII. EPISTOLAE:

In prose:

... *expetentem arcisque locum*:

In 57: F. Macrì-Leone, "Il zibaldone boccaccesco della Magliabechiana," in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, X (1887), 39.

Fragment. To an unknown addressee.

In verse: See above, No. XXXVIIa.

XXXIX. EPITAPHIA:

a. For Francesco da Barberino:

In 58: A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino et la*

²¹ See n. 15.

²² See n. 15.

littérature provençale en Italie au moyen age, Paris, Thorin, 1883 (= *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, No. 35), pp. 34-35.

b. For himself:²³

In 59: A. Reumont, *Dichtergräber: Ravenna, Arqua, Certaldo*, Berlin, Duncker, 1846, p. 84.²⁴

XL. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL COMPENDIA AND NOTES IN MS. II, ii, 327 OF THE BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE:

A few passages:

In 43, pp. 328-342.

A few passages:

In 57, *passim*.

XLI. NOTE ON THE LENGTH OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST:

In 60: S. Ciampi, *Monumenti d'un manoscritto autografo di messer Gio. Boccacci da Certaldo*, Florence, Galletti, 1827, pp. 38 ff.
Second edition: Milan, Molina, 1830.

XLII. PAUCA DE TITO LIVIO:

61: A. Hortis, *Cenni di Giovanni Boccacci intorno a Tito Livio*, Trieste, Tipografia del Lloyd Austro-Ungarico, 1877.
Annotated.

XLIII. UNAUTHENTIC WORKS:

For such works see 43, pp. 873-885, and 65, Nos. 457 and 1005.

PART II. WORKS ON BOCCACCIO

A. THE FUNDAMENTAL GENERAL WORK

XLIV. 62: H. Hauvette, *Boccace*, Paris, Colin, 1914.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

XLV. OF THE WORKS OF BOCCACCIO:

a. Of the Italian works:

For the period ending with 1874:

63: A. Bacchi della Lega and F. Zambrini, "Le edizioni delle opere di Giovanni Boccacci," in *Il Propugnatore*, VIII (1875), i, 370-473, and ii, 169-201 and 379-394.
Separately printed as *Bibliografia boccacesca: serie delle edizioni delle opere di Giovanni Boc-*

²³ Photographic reproduction of the stone: in 30, frontispiece.

²⁴ Printed also in various other works: e.g. 62, p. 464, n. 3.

cacci latine, volgari, tradotte e trasformate, Bologna, Romagnoli, 1875. A few addenda are printed by Zambrini, "Giunte ed emendazioni alla bibliografia boccacesca," in *Il Propugnatore*, IX (1876), i, 286-287.

For the period 1875-1908:

In **64**: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Bibliographie 1875/76 — Bibliographie 1908* (=Supplementheften I-XXXIII), 1878-1912, the entries for editions of the works of Boccaccio under the classification "Ausgaben und Erläuterungsschriften."

b. Of the Latin works:

For the period ending with 1878:

In **43**, pp. 751-908.

For the period 1879-1908:

In **64**, as above (except the volumes for 1875-1878).

XLVI. OF WORKS ON BOCCACCIO:

a. Inclusive:

For the period ending with 1906:

65: G. Traversari, *Bibliografia boccacesca*, Vol. I, *Scritti intorno al Boccaccio e alla fortuna delle sue opere*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1907.

The works listed are arranged chronologically and numbered progressively. Has author and subject indexes. Corrections and additions are noted in the reviews by A. Della Torre in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LI (1908), 363-368, and H. Hauvette in *Bulletin italien*, VII (1907), 259-261.

For the period 1907-1908:

In **64**, the volumes for 1907 and 1908, the entries for Boccaccio (except those for editions).

b. Selective:

General: In **62**, pp. 479-493.

For the sexcentenary:

66: A. Della Torre, "Rassegna del centenario boccacesco," in *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, XXII (1914), 102-132.

67: A. F. Massèra, "Rassegna critica di studi boccaceschi pubblicati nell'anno secentenario (1913-14)," in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, LXV (1915), 370-421.

BEDDOES AND CONTINENTAL ROMANTICISTS

By FREDERICK E. PIERCE
Yale University

In 1825 T. L. Beddoes, then hardly twenty-two years of age, left England. The remaining half of his life, ending with his death in 1849, was spent almost wholly on the continent, chiefly in Germany or among the German-speaking Swiss. It was during this residence abroad that he wrote, and from time to time revised, his gloomy masterpiece *Death's Jest-book*, which was first published, after his death, in 1850. The question naturally arises whether that somber production was not influenced in its growth by continental literature which we know that the author was reading at the time. It seems probably that there was such a debt, and especially one to the authors of the German Romantic School.

The first step in solving that question is to trace Beddoes' knowledge of German authors through the different stages of his literary career. Perhaps this can be done most clearly in tabulated form.

I. 1803-1824. During this period Beddoes published his beautiful, though immature *Brides' Tragedy*, and other boyish verse of much less value. Up to the fall of 1824 he could not read German, and presumably knew little about literature in that language. Hardly any authors of the German Romantic School had yet been translated. There were numerous English renderings of German plays and tales from the late eighteenth century (the *Sturm und Drang* period); but there is no reason to suppose that they had much to do with molding the boy poet. They had been widely popular just before his birth, but had fallen into neglect during his formative years. In the autumn of 1824 he began his study of the German language, and indicates an additional source of Teutonic inspiration in a letter:

I ensconce myself in the hospitality of my Clifton demi-uncle. . . . Born in the town of Berne, bred in Germany, a fugitive from his relations and theology, he left behind him a fair Swiss fortune. . . . To the dead he adds a radical acquaintance with the living tongues of Europe, an intimacy with the practice

and theory of the pictorial art, and an inexhaustible fund of literary knowledge, German and English being both his native tongues.¹

II. 1825. In March of this year a friend says of him that "he idles over Greek and German, and leave[s] the English Parnassus for the Transalpine and submarine places."² A little later he is "expert in reading German"³ and deep in Goethe and Schiller,⁴ also names Wieland⁵ and A. W. Schlegel.⁶ Some four months after that, in July, he first mentions the title of his future masterpiece, but apparently speaks of it as a mere germinating idea, not yet reduced to any shape: "Am thinking of a very Gothic styled tragedy for which I have a jewel of a name— DEATH'S JEST-BOOK."⁷ It was only a few days later that he sailed to Germany, and thereafter saw England only at rare intervals. Probably the title of the play was the one part of it produced on English ground. In September, he mentions Ludwig Tieck,⁸ the second of the German *romantiker* to be spoken of by him, Schlegel having been the first. By December we find him definitely at work on his tragedy: "Write a little Death's Jestbook, which is a horrible waste of time."⁹ In the same letter he speaks of his "reduction in the crucible of German philosophy" and seems to promise anecdotes and news about German literature and professors in his next letter.¹⁰

III. 1826-1829. During these years Beddoes completed the *first version* of *Death's Jest-book*. In April [1826]¹¹ he speaks of having read Kant on anthropology,¹² and in October, besides another reference to Tieck, he mentions Schelling.¹³ In the same month he says that he has read a little, but not much of Jean Paul Richter,¹⁴ and refers to Bürger.¹⁵ He ends this letter with the state-

¹ *The Letters of Thomas Lovell Beddoes*, ed. by Edmund Gosse, London, Elkin Mathews & John Lane, 1894, pp. 45-46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹¹ Date given by Gosse in brackets.

¹² *Letters*, p. 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

ment that " 'Death's Jest-book' is finished in the rough" and with a reference to both the Schlegels.¹⁶ By 1827 he is growing enthusiastic about Tieck, and states for the first time that the historical nucleus of *Death's Jest-book* is "an isolated and rather disputed fact, that Duke Boleslaus of Münsterberg in Silesia was killed by his court fool A.D. 1377."¹⁷ Presumably this German tradition was made the groundwork of the play after Beddoes had become more or less familiar with German literature. In February, 1829, he refers to Chateaubriand among the French, Goethe, Schiller, Kotzebue, and Friedrich Schlegel among the Germans, and Holberg and Ingemann among the Danes.¹⁸ His words show that he had been reading most, if not all, of these authors. In the spring of 1829 he sent the completed first version of his tragedy to his English friend Procter, who criticized it with such severity that the poet kept it in manuscript for future revision. In the letter in which he answers Procter, Beddoes speaks of the Danish romanticist Oehlenschläger, and of the German authors Müller, Grillparzer, Raupach, and Immermann, as writers with whose works he has some familiarity.¹⁹

IV. 1830-1849. During these years Beddoes kept his tragedy by him in manuscript, and from time to time retouched it, just how much nobody knows. In 1830 he read with enthusiasm Kleist's *Kätchen von Heilbronn*, and in commenting on this play made a statement which showed how wide by this time his knowledge of continental literature had become: "I really believed a week ago that I was acquainted with everything worth reading in German belles lettres from the Niebelingenlied [*sic*] down to Tieck's last novel."²⁰ In 1837 he writes to Kelsall: "I am preparing for the press . . . the still-born D.J.B. with critical and cacochemical remarks on the European literature, in specie the hapless dramas of our day."²¹ In 1848, shortly before his death, he found "dear Mr. Schopenhauer" "dreary and dull," felt that "Henrik Steffens tells as little truth as possible,"²² and that "Uhland's poetry is

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-163.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

nothing but language well colored, phraseology drearily deserted by ideas."²³

In short, *Death's Jest-book* was conceived by a man with a dawning enthusiasm for German literature, written in the original draft by a man well read in that literature, and retouched at leisure for years by a man whose mind was permeated by Teutonic poetry and fiction.

How far does *Death's Jest-book* show the influence of that continental world of thought in which it grew? This is a debatable question. All careful students of Beddoes' early verse, including the present writer, feel in his final masterpiece the logical maturing of tendencies latent in boyhood. It would not be true to say that his German residence revolutionized his style of writing. But it is unquestionably true that the work of the German Romantic School had in it something congenial to Beddoes' mind. It influenced his literary manner, not by revolutionizing that, but by intensifying in it traits that already were there. So our problem is not primarily to find characteristics common to Beddoes and the Germans and utterly unknown in English, or unknown in the poet before 1825. We are looking for characteristics in German works which might naturally have affected an author who unquestionably read them, even if these traits simply accentuated something already dormant in his mind, even if they simply reawakened or intensified memories of English models. Also we have a right to assume that he had read many foreign authors not mentioned by him. He was a poor correspondent, and his few scattering letters are in no way an adequate record of his whole mental life. If he at twenty-seven really believed that he was acquainted with everything worth reading in German belles lettres, we may reasonably believe that before he was forty he knew a great deal.

The theme of death was a favorite one with the German romanticists. Their famous collection of folk-ballads, *The Boy's Magic Trumpet* (1806 ff), printed an old folk-song beginning, "There is a reaper, his name is Death," and some of the German editions accompanied this by a picture representing the spectral reaper mowing a swath through grain and flowers with human heads. In Uhland's *Black Knight*, Death, as the central figure of the poem, appears in armor and unhorses a prince in a tourney. In Fouqué's

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

novel, *Sintram and His Companions*, Death personified, is one of the leading characters. The romanticists themselves at times had borrowed from earlier art. The germ of Fouqué's novel was a painting by Dürer representing a knight, Death, and a fiend. The "dance of Deaths" in Beddoes' play was very probably suggested by Holbein's famous series of paintings.²⁴ Certainly such an origin is implied by the lines:

The emperor and empress, the king and the queen,
The knight and the abbot, friar fat, friar thin. (V. iv)

But a handling of death that in mood is especially like that of Beddoes is found in Novalis. In the sixth of his famous Nights, the one entitled "Longing for Death," he says: "Down to the lap of earth, away from the realm of light! The rage and the wild shock of suffering is sign of our glad departure. We will come in the narrow boat swiftly to the shore of Heaven. . . . Down to the sweet bride [the gravel], to Jesus the Belovéd! Take comfort! the twilight gathers gray for the loving and the sad." A mood like this runs all through *Death's Jest-book*:

Leave me the truth of love, and death is lovely. (I. i)

A kiss, Sibylla! I ne'er yet have kissed thee,
And my new bride, death's lips are cold, they say. (I. iv)

Because a bridal with the grave is near. (V. iii)

The word was Comfort:
A name by which the master, whose I am,
Is named by many wise and many wretched.
Will with me to the place where sighs are not;
A shore of blessing, which disease doth beat
Sea-like, and dashes those whom he would wreck
Into the arms of Peace?²⁵ (IV. ii)

These words were spoken by a lover to his sweetheart, and fuse together, as the German romanticists loved to fuse them, the ideas of wedlock and the sepulchre. In his first "Night" Novalis waxes

²⁴ Beddoes late in life lived in the Holbein country and in 1844 writes: "Basel has retained a good collection of Holbeins, who was a native of the town" (*Letters*, p. 238). But apparently the Deaths were in the play as early as 1829 (*Letters*, p. 161).

[Note: The last statement makes one wonder whether the "dance of Deaths" in Beddoes' play may not rather have been suggested by the series of paintings "The Dance of Death" adorning the quaint old bridge which crosses the river Reuss. Having spent part of his life among the German-speaking Swiss, Beddoes could hardly have failed to visit the attractive city of Lucerne.—C. H. IBERSHOFF.]

²⁵ A somewhat similar passage occurs in *The Brides' Tragedy*, written before Beddoes could read German.

rapturous alternately over night, love, and death, as related themes. He says (section 4): "Now I know when the last morning will be: when light no longer shall frighten away night and love, when our slumber shall be eternal and only one inexhaustible dream. I feel heavenly weariness within me. Long and exhausting for me was the pilgrimage to the holy grave." And Beddoes' heroine Sibylla says:

O Death, I am thy friend,
I struggle not with thee, I love thy state:
Thou canst be sweet and gentle, be so now;
And let me pass praying away into thee,
As twilight still does into starry night. (IV. ii)

In section 1 Novalis says: "Dost thou take pleasure in us, dark Night? What dost thou hold under thy mantel, that strong and invisible pierces right to my soul? Costly balsam drips from thy hand, from thy poppy sheaf." In similar vein Sibylla declares:

The flowers upon whose petals Night lays down
Her dewey necklace, are my dearest playmates. (I. ii)

Beddoes' *L'Envoi* to *Death's Jest-book* shows repeatedly, if not borrowings, at least mental kinship with the *Hymns to the Night*.

Novalis, who died shortly before Beddoes was born, had his followers among later romanticists. An attitude toward death even more neurotic and erotic than his occurs in the dramatist Werner: "O brother! the time is surely drawing nigh when all men, truly understanding death, will welcome him with glad embrace, will feel that life is but the anticipation of love, that death is the bridal kiss, and dissolution, which with a bridegroom's ardor disrobes us in the bridal chamber, the hottest fire of love."²⁶ More wholesome, but with the same idealization of death, and longing for it, is the attitude of Eichendorff in a song from *The Marble Statue*:

And in the midst of the feast, I see,—how gentle in manner!—the stillest of guests. Whence come you, lonely figure? He appears garlanded with blossoming poppies that glisten dreamily, and a crown of lilies. His lips are pouted for kissing, lovely and pale, as if he brought a greeting from the realm of heaven. He carries a torch, which gleams with marvelous splendor. 'Where is there one,' he asks, 'who longs to go homeward?' . . . Oh youth from heaven, how beautiful you are! I will leave this wild mob, I will go with you!

Is it not the same world-weary, esthetic, erotic conception of death that is found in Beddoes?

²⁶ Brandes' translation from a play of Werner *Die Kreuzesbrüder*, which I have not read. G. Brandes, *The Romantic School in Germany*, The Macmillan Co., 1906, p. 190.

Time was when death was young and pitiful,
 Though callous now by use: and then there dwelt,
 In the thin world above, a beauteous Arab,
 Unmated yet and boyish. To his couch
 At night, which shone so starry through the boughs,
 A pale flower-breathed nymph with dewy hair
 Would often come, but all her love was silent;
 And ne'er by daylight could he gaze upon her,
 For ray by ray, as morning came, she paled,
 And like a snow of air dissolv'd i' th' light,
 Leaving behind a stalk with lilies hung,
 Round which her womanish graces had assembled.
 So did the early love-time of his youth
 Pass with delight: but when, compelled at length,
 He left the wilds and woods for riotous camps
 And cities full of men, he saw no more,
 Tho' prayed and wept for, his old bed-time vision,
 The pale dissolving maiden. He would wander
 Sleepless about the waste, benighted fields,
 Asking the speechless shadows of his thoughts
 'Who shared my couch? Who was my love? Where is she?'
 Thus passing through a grassy burial ground,
 Wherein a new-dug grave gaped wide for food,
 'Who was she?' cried he, and the earthy mouth
 Did move its nettle-bearded lips together,
 And said 'Twas I—I, Death: behold our child!
 The wanderer looked, and on the lap of the pit
 A young child slept as at a mother's breast. (III, iii)

In this passage, as in the Teuton romanticists, death is not only a person, but a bride or bridegroom. A reader can find Deaths in English literature, gruesome, skeleton figures; but how rarely they mix the soft lure of sex with the shadow of the grave!²⁷

There are many passages in *Death's Jest-book* which bear a more or less suspicious likeness to something in German authors. The sentence "Thither, then, Homunculus Mandrake, son of the great Paracelsus" (I, i) sounds like a reminiscence of Goethe, whom Beddoes had certainly read. Von Arnim's "Isabella of Egypt" is a fantastic story of a gipsy princess who by enchantment makes a man out of a mandrake, and eventually leads her people back to their home land of Egypt. Some memory of such a story might have colored the following passage in Beddoes, in which Isbrand speaks of the character Mandrake: "Yesterday he was a fellow of my color and served a quacksalver, but now he lusts after the mummy country, whither you are bound. 'Tis a servant of the rosy cross, a correspondent of the stars; the dead are his boon com-

²⁷ The only example that I can recall before 1850 is one stanza in Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale"; and it is an open question if German influence had not reached Keats, for in ways often hard to trace, it seems to have been at work in England after 1815.

panions, and the secrets of the moon his knowledge. . . . We fools send him as our ambassador to Africa" (I, i). In von Arnim's novel, *The Guardians of the Crown*, two men undergo blood transfusion, and one of them afterward imagines that the personality of the other has been imparted to him. Beddoes' characters, Melveric and Wolfram, have also exchanged blood, and Isbrand says to Wolfram: "O fie on't! Thou my brother? Say when hast thou undergone transfusion, and whose hostile blood now turns thy life's wheels?" (I, i). Duke Melveric accuses Wolfram of having won Sibylla's love by enchantment:

For thou hast even subdued her to thy arms,
Against her will and reason, wickedly
Torturing her soul with spells and adjurations. (I, ii)

This is the very charge which the father of Kleist's Kätchen of Heilbronn makes against her lover.²⁸

Of all the doctrines or dogmas that colored the German romantic literature no one was more important than Fichte's doctrine of the Ego. Rightly or wrongly, the romanticists interpreted it as meaning that the individual molded his external universe by the power of his personality. The literary excesses which resulted from the perversion of Fichte's teaching were ridiculed by Goethe in *Faust*, where the Baccalaureus speaks in the Second Part:

The world was not ere I created it;
The sun I drew from out the orient sea;
The moon began her changeful course with me.²⁹

Beddoes, who specifically refers in his letters to Kant and Schelling, must have known their teammate Fichte, and had presumably read the above passage in *Faust*. So it is distinctly probable that we catch an echo from the German in Isbrand's words:

I have a bit of FIAT in my soul,
And can myself create my little world. (V. i)

In one of his dramatic fragments, of uncertain date, Beddoes also says:

All hail! I too am an eternity;
I am a universe. My soul is bent
Into a girdling circle full of days;
And my fears rise through the deep sky of it,
Blossoming into palpitating stars;
And suns are launched, and planets wake within me.³⁰

²⁸ It is also the charge that Shakespeare's Brabantio makes against Othello. By 1830 Beddoes had almost certainly read both plays.

²⁹ Bayard Taylor's translation.

³⁰ *Poems by the Late T. Beddoes*, Pickering, ed. 1851. I, 98.

Many German *romantiker* were obsessed with the theme of *Doppelgängerei*, the idea of the split personality; and a touch of this attitude might be suspected in Wolfram's speech:

As I was newly dead, and sat beside
My corpse, looking on it as one who muses
Gazing upon a house he was burnt out of. (V. iv)

This is just such a division of one personality into two as delighted the soul of Hoffmann.

Eichendorff's story *The Marble Statue* centers around a marble image of Venus beside a lake; and songs in it mention nymphs and sirens emerging from the waves. We may possibly have an echo of that in Beddoes' song:

We have bathed, where none have seen us,
In the lake and in the fountain,
Underneath the charmed statue
Of the timid, bending Venus,
When the water-nymphs were counting
In the waves the stars of night. (IV. iii)

Later in the same scene of *Death's Jest-book* occurs the passage:

By her the bridegod fair,
In youthful power and force;
By him the grizard bare,
Pale knight on a pale horse
To woo him to a corse.
Death and Hymen both are here.

One of the songs in *The Marble Statue* as we have said, introduces the figure of Death; and he appears with much of the grim pageantry of Beddoes in Uhland's *Black Knight*:

To the barrier of the fight
Rode at last a sable knight . . .
Spake the grim Guest,
From his hollow, cavernous breast;
'Roses in the Spring I gather!'³¹

Obviously the common use of such a time-worn idea as this would not inevitably mean borrowing; but there is a likeness of atmosphere as well as detail between the English poet and Germans whom he had read. Furthermore the German romanticists (Hoffmann for example), showed frequent interest in the transmigration of souls; and Beddoes makes Isbrand say:

Had I been born a four-legged child, methinks
I might have found the steps from dog to man,
And crept into his nature. Are there not

³¹ Longfellow's translation.

Those that fall down out of humanity,
 Into the story where the four-legged dwell? (V. i)

Beddoes' chief debt was obviously to the Germans; but his letters indicate that he had read other European authors too. While he was finishing the first draft of his tragedy, Victor Hugo published a poem called *The Fire of Heaven*, which represented God's avenging cloud hovering over the doomed cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. If Beddoes read this, it may have suggested the lines in Melveric's speech:

I move since this resolve, about the place,
 Like to a murder-charged thunder cloud
 Lurking about the starry streets of night,
 Breathless and masked,
 O'er a still city sleeping by the sea. (I. ii)

Leopardi came so late that Beddoes could not possibly have taken more from him than hints for a few lines in revision; but anyone who has read the Italian's *Dialogue Between a Goblin and a Gnome* will be reminded of it by Beddoes' lines:

Thou art old, world,
 A hoary atheistic murderous star:
 I wish that thou would'st die, or could'st be
 slain,
 Hell-hearted bastard of the sun. (II, ii)

Beddoes could not have read Schopenhauer until his tragedy was practically completed; but it is highly possible that the same conditions in central Europe may have encouraged the pessimism of both the philosopher and the poet.

Before drawing conclusions from the above material, we must lay to heart certain cautions. We must remember how many of Beddoes' later tendencies can be traced in his early verse, before he knew German. We must remember how much the experience of half a century has qualified our faith in parallels and *Quellenforschungen*. We must remember that Beddoes heired a startling inheritance of the ghastly and somber from his beloved Elizabethans and from the English romanticists. But, after all allowances have been made, it seems probable that certain morbid and yet highly poetical tendencies, which had been latent in the poet from boyhood, were decidedly encouraged and intensified by his reading of foreign authors. That he had read most of them we know; that he could have read them without responding in some way seems almost impossible; the passages in which he appears to echo them are numerous, and the likenesses, in some cases at least, impressive.

ELECTRICITY, THE SPIRIT OF THE EARTH, IN SHELLEY'S *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*

By CARL H. GRABO
The University of Chicago

Shelley's youthful interest in astronomy, chemistry, and electricity is well known; in his letters are to be found references to the works of Bacon, Erasmus Darwin, Newton, Buffon, Laplace, and Humphry Davy, as well as to very many of the older philosophers whose speculations embraced natural history. Pliny and Lucretius he read while at Eton. Yet nothing, so far as I am aware, has been done to trace the influence of scientific ideas upon his poetry. This paper is a compressed account of findings of that nature in an examination of *Prometheus Unbound*. The science consulted was chiefly that contemporary with, or immediately precedent to, Shelley. The results of the inquiry are in my judgment so remarkable as to lead eventually to a wholly new evaluation of Shelley as poet and philosopher. I must of necessity be concise and I therefore present my data with a minimum of discussion, letting the poetic passage and its analogies in scientific literature as far as possible tell their own story. The instances cited though but a part of the whole are, I trust, sufficient to illustrate the nature and profitableness of the inquiry. I may add that I found the most important parts of my material in Humphry Davy, Beccaria,¹ and the poems and notes of Erasmus Darwin. From the latter, striking parallels are in some cases cited which reveal Shelley's poetical indebtedness to Darwin's verse, a circumstance surely sufficiently curious.

I.

The first four passages to be studied are instances of Shelley's transformation of scientific concepts into a high order of sensuous poetry. Three are chemical in their nature, and one is geological.

¹ Father Giambatista Beccaria, whose *Of Artificial Electricity* and *Of Terrestrial Atmospheric Electricity during Serene Weather* were translated into English in 1776.

In all four the scientific parallel makes intelligible intellectual poetry of what was, previously, beautiful but unintelligible verse.

Ye elemental Genii, who have homes
From man's high mind even to the central stone
Of sullen lead; from Heaven's star-fretted domes
To the dull weed some sea-worm battens on:

(*P.U.*, IV. ll. 539-542)

(a) The forms and appearances of the beings and substances of the external world are almost infinitely various, and they are in a state of continued alteration: the whole surface of the earth even undergoes modifications: acted on by moisture and air, it affords the food of plants; an immense number of vegetable productions arise from apparently the same materials; these become the substance of animals; one species of animal matter is converted into another; the most perfect and beautiful of the forms of organized life ultimately decay, and are resolved into inorganic aggregates; and the same elementary substances, differently arranged, are contained in the inert soil, or bloom and emit fragrance in the flower, or become in animals the active organs of mind and intelligence.

(Humphry Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 63)

(b) As far as our investigations have extended, the same elements belong to the same parts of the system. The composition of the atmosphere and the ocean are analogous, as far as the heights of one, and the depths of the other have been examined. The matters thrown out by volcanoes are earthy or stony aggregates, and they may owe their origin to the action of air and water upon the metallic bases of the earths and alkalies; an action which may be supposed to be connected with the production of subterranean fires. Even the substances that fall from meteors, though differing in their form and appearance from any of the bodies belonging to our earth, yet contain well known elements, silica, magnesia, sulphur, and the two magnetic metals, iron and nickel.

A few undecomposed bodies, which may perhaps ultimately be resolved into still fewer elements, or which may be different forms of the same material, constitute the whole of our tangible universe of things. By experiment they are discovered, even in the most complicated arrangements; and experiment is as it were the chain that binds down the Proteus of nature, and obliges it to confess its real form and divine origin.

(*Ibid.*, p. 502)

First Faun

Canst thou imagine where those spirits live
Which make such delicate music in the woods?
We haunt within the least frequented caves
And closest coverts, and we know these wilds,
Yet never meet them, though we hear them oft:
Where may they hide themselves?

Second Faun

'Tis hard to tell;

I have heard those more skilled in spirits say,
The bubbles, which the enchantment of the sun
Sucks from the pale faint water-flowers that pave
The oozy bottom of clear lakes and pools,
Are the pavilions where such dwell and float
Under the green and golden atmosphere
Which noontide kindles through the woven leaves;
And when these burst, and the thin fiery air,
The which they breathed within those lucent domes,

Ascends to flow like meteors through the night,
They ride on them, and rein their headlong speed,
And bow their burning crests, and glide in fire
Under the waters of the earth again.

(*P.U.*, II. 2. ll. 64-82)

(a) Whoever considers with attention the slender green vegetable filaments (*conferva Rivularis*), which in the summer exist in almost all streams, lakes, and pools, under the different circumstances of shade and sunshine will discover globules of air upon the filaments exposed under water to the sun, but no air on the filaments that are shaded. He will find that the effect is owing to the presence of light. . . . Let a wineglass filled with water be inverted over the *confervae*; the air will collect in the upper part of the glass, and when the glass is filled with air, it may be closed with the hand, placed in its usual position, and an inflamed taper introduced into it; the taper will burn with more brilliancy than in the atmosphere. . . . If the phenomena are reasoned upon, and the question is put, Whether all vegetables of this kind, in fresh or in salt water, do not produce such air, under like circumstances, the inquirer is guided by *analogy*; and when this is determined to be the case by new trials, a *general scientific truth* is established, that all *confervae* in the sunshine produce a species of air that supports flame in a superior degree; which has been shown to be the case by various minute observations. And the general scientific truth admits of numerous applications to the economy of nature; such as the deterioration or renovation of the atmosphere, and the uses of even the humblest forms of vegetables in the general system of things.

(John Davy, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir H. Davy*, I, 214-215)

If such live thus, have others other lives,
Under pink blossoms or within the bells
Of meadow flowers or folded violets deep,
Or on their dying odors, when they die,
Or in the sunlight of the sphered dew?

(*P.U.*, II. 2. ll. 83-87)

These lines follow immediately upon those of the previous quotation and should be considered in conjunction with them. The passages from Erasmus Darwin which I now cite throw light upon both.

(a) The air is perpetually subject to increase or diminution from its combination with other bodies, or its evolution from them. The vital part of the air, called oxygen, is continually produced in this climate from the perspiration of vegetables in the sunshine, and probably from the action of light on clouds or on water in the tropical climates, where the sun has greatest power, and may exert some yet unknown laws of luminous combination. Another part of the atmosphere, which is called azote [nitrogen], is perpetually set at liberty from animal and vegetable bodies by putrefaction or combustion, from many springs of water, from volatile alkali, and probably from fixed alkali, of which there is an exhaustless source in the water of the ocean. Both these component parts of the air are perpetually again diminished by their contact with the soil, which covers the surface of the earth, producing nitre. The oxygene is diminished in the production of all acids, of which the carbonic and muriatic exist in great abundance. The azote is diminished in the growth of animal bodies, of which it constitutes an important part, or in its combinations with many other natural productions.

They are both probably diminished in immense quantities by uniting with the inflammable air [hydrogen], which arises from the mud of rivers and lakes at some seasons, when the atmosphere is light: the oxygene of the air producing water, and the azote producing volatile alkali by their combinations

with this inflammable air. At other seasons of the year these principles may again change their combinations, and the atmospheric air be reproduced.

(Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden*, Additional Notes, p. 79)

And again:

(b) In the atmosphere inflammable air is probably perpetually uniting with vital air and producing moisture which descends in dews and showers, while the growth of vegetables by the assistance of light is perpetually again decomposing the water they imbibe from the earth, and while they retain the inflammable air for the formation of oils, wax, honey, resin, etc., they give up the vital air to replenish the atmosphere.

(*Ibid.*, note p. 133)

The "oils, wax, honey, resin," etc., elucidates the "under pink blossoms or within the bells of meadow flowers."

This is so extraordinary an instance of Shelley's method in *Prometheus*, and may at first sight arouse such incredulity, that I shall trespass upon another phase of the larger problem of interpretation and cite in its support a poetical passage from the *Botanic Garden* of Erasmus Darwin. In these lines the elements and their functions in nature are thus personified:

Or, plum'd with flame, in gay battalion's spring
To brighter regions borne on broader wing
Where lighter gases, circumfused on high,
Form the vast concave of exterior sky.
Ride, with broad eye and scintillating hair,
The rapid Fire-ball through the midnight air;
Dart from the North on pale electric streams,
Fringing Night's sable robe with transient beams.

Or rein the Planets in their swift careers,
Gilding with borrow'd light their twinkling spheres;
Alarm with comet-blaze the sapphire plain,
The wan stars glimmering through its silver train;
(Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden*, I, ll. 127-134)

The similarity in the methods of personification and even in the individual instances and figures is apparent. Shelley's more poetic but less obvious meaning is elucidated by Darwin's lines.

... and over these
The jagged alligator, and the might
Of earth-convulsing behemoth, which once
Were monarch beasts, and on the slimy shores
And weed-overgrown continents of earth,
Increased and multiplied like summer worms
On an abandoned corpse, till the blue globe
Wrapped deluge round it like a cloke, and they
Yelled, gasped and were abolished; or some God,
Whose throne was in a comet, passed, and cried,
Be not! and like my words, they were no more.
(*P.U.*, IV. ll. 308-318)

(a) Besides the Plutonic hypothesis, which considers rocks as the result of an existing order, and the Neptunian, which regards them as products of

a slow process of creation and deposition from a chaotic fluid, there are other views in which the present state of things is supposed to have resulted from a great and extraordinary series of events, by which the ocean was carried over the land, and the secondary rocks deposited upon the primary ones. Leibnitz and Whiston refer this great revolution to the agency of a comet, by which the tides were raised above the mountains, and carried round the earth, and by which the water was heated so as to gain new solvent powers.

(John Davy, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Humphry Davy*, I, 190)

(b) We perceive the effects of this great catastrophe [the deluge], but the immediate material cause of it can never be distinctly developed. The hypothesis of Leibnitz, extended by Whiston, that it was produced by the attraction of a comet upon the waters of the ocean, is, perhaps, the most plausible that has been advanced; and when taken with limitation, the most adequate.

(*Ibid.*, p. 247)

Instances of this kind, in which Shelley has set forth chemical and geological ideas in poetic imagery, could be multiplied, but inasmuch as I am pressed for space in this initial article and as the subject promises to be, when it is thoroughly worked out in all its ramifications, a large one, I shall now turn to another group of scientific concepts poetically expressed.

II.

The passage in the fourth act of *Prometheus* in which Panthea describes the Spirit of the Earth is a convenient starting point for an enquiry into the symbolism of this figure whose significance has for so long been obscure:

And from a star upon its forehead shoot,
Like swords of azure fire or golden spears
With tyrant-quelling myrtle overtwin'd,
Embleming heaven and earth united now,
Vast beams like spokes of some invisible wheel
Which whirl as the orb whirls, swifter than thought,
Filling the abyss with sun-like lightnings,
And perpendicular now, and now transverse,
Pierce the dark soil, and as they piece and pass
Make bare the secrets of the earth's deep heart; . . .

(*P.U.*, IV. ll. 270-279)

There are numerous difficulties here but I shall concern myself for the present only with the "sun-like lightnings" which "pierce the dark soil." Lightning may enter the ground but it does not in so doing "make bare the secrets of the earth's deep heart." Assume as an hypothesis that the lightnings are quite literally electricity. In what sense can electricity pierce the soil and reveal secret things? Only, I believe, in a scientific sense. Humphry Davy in his Bakerian lecture of Nov. 19, 1807, announced the dis-

covery by a new electro-chemical analytical process of the elements of potassium and sodium. On June 30, 1808, he announced the decomposition of the earths by means of the same process and the discovery of the elements barium, strontium, calcium, and magnesium.

If Shelley's meaning in the passage is that the new scientific agent, electricity, is to reveal the secrets of nature, then the Spirit of the Earth as characterized symbolizes electricity, and it is necessary to examine the passages in which the Spirit of the Earth appears to see whether they may convincingly be so interpreted. The Spirit is thus described at the beginning of scene 4, act III:

Ione [speaking of the Spirit of the Earth]

Sister it is not earthly; how it glides
Under the leaves! how on its head there burns
A light like a green star, whose emerald beams
Are twined with its fair hair! how, as it moves,
The splendor drops in flakes upon the grass!
(*P.U.*, III. 4. ll. 1-5)

The color of the light, green, and the splendor which "drops in flakes" are, it is evident, characteristic, as also the analogy "like a green star." A passage from Beccaria illuminates the last phrase:

In general this law of indication consists in the difference of the appearances exhibited by the electric fire, when issuing from a blunted point of metal placed in such situations that the electrical fire may, according to the theory, issue from one of the systems and pass into the other. If the point has been annexed to that of the systems from which the fire *issues* and is properly directed towards a plain portion of the surface of the other, then the fire assumes an appearance that I have distinguished by the appellation of a *brush*; but when the point is annexed to the system into which the fire *enters*, then the fire assumes another appearance, to which I have given the name of *little star*.

(Beccaria, *Of Artificial Electricity*, p. 38)

A passage from Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, later to be quoted more fully, lends confirmation to this identification of the "star." Addressing the "Effulgent Maids" who "round deciduous day"

Tressed with soft beams, your glittering bands array;
(*Botanic Garden*, I. l. 174)

he proceeds to enumerate their electric and phosphorescent duties:

Warm on her mossy couch the radiant Worm,
Guard from cold dews her love-illuminated form
From leaf to leaf conduct the virgin light,
Star of the earth, and diamond of the night.
(*Botanic Garden*, I. ll. 193-196)

Here the expression "star of the earth" is doubly significant both of Shelley's phrase "like a green star" and his creation, the Spirit

of the Earth. It may even be that his conception of the function of this character had its origin in the passage cited.

Why, however, is the light green? Darwin does not so characterize the manifestations of the light whose various forms he enumerates. I take it that Shelley, in seeking a color which would identify the Spirit of the Earth in its atmospheric activities to be described, conceived green to be the most suitable. Green is appropriate enough to electrical phenomena of light especially as produced by the Leyden jar, with which Shelley in his own amateur experiments was presumably familiar. Between copper or silver terminals, says Thompson in his *Electricity and Magnetism* (p. 242), the spark takes a green tint. And in the combustion of metals effected by the galvanic pile "the flame of silver is a vivid green."¹ The "splendor" which "drops in flakes" I assume to be the familiar corruscations of an electric spark. Or perhaps the line is reminiscent of the passage in *The Ancient Mariner* descriptive of phosphorescent light stirred by the water snakes:

And when they reared, the elfish light
Fell off in hoary flakes.

That phosphorescent effects and electric effects are thought of as one, as due to the same cause, is evident from the ensuing passage:

It is the delicate spirit
That guides the earth through heaven. From afar
The populous constellations call that light
The loveliest of the planets; and sometimes
It floats along the spray of the salt sea,
Or makes its chariot of a foggy cloud,
Or walks through fields or cities while men sleep,
Or o'er the mountain tops, or down the rivers,
Or through the green waste wilderness, as now,
Wondering at all it sees. Before Jove reigned
It loved our sister Asia, and it came
Each leisure hour to drink the liquid light
Out of her eyes, for which it said it thirsted
As one bit by a dipsas

(P.U., III. 4. ll. 7-19)

To demonstrate that these varied phenomena are possessed of a common element, are to be ascribed to a common cause, and that one, electricity, a variety of citation is called for.

It floats along the spray of the salt sea.

¹ William Henry, *Elements of Experimental Chemistry*, (1818) p. 166.

I suppose the allusion here is to the phosphorescent light which is manifested in some tropical waters when the sea is agitated.

In some seas, as particularly about the coast of Malabar, as a ship floats along, it seems during the night to be surrounded with fire, and to leave a long tract of light behind it. Whenever the sea is gently agitated it seems converted into little stars, every drop as it breaks emits light, like bodies electrified in the dark. Mr. Bomare says, that when he was at the port of Cettes in Languedoc, and bathing with a companion in the sea after a very hot day, they both appeared covered with fire after every immersion, and that laying his wet hand on the arm of his companion, who had not then dipped himself, the exact mark of his hand and fingers was seen in characters of fire. As numerous microscopic insects are found in this shining water, its light has been generally ascribed to them, though it seems probable that fish-slime in hot countries may become in such a state of incipient putrefaction as to give light, especially when by agitation it is more exposed to the air; otherwise it is not easy to explain why agitation should be necessary to produce this marine light.

(*Botanic Garden*. Additional Note, IX)

That phosphorescence, whether due to decay or other causes, is identical with electricity is the hypothesis of Davy in the following excerpt taken from a speculation upon the nature of light, chemical action, and electricity as three allied manifestations of a single elemental force:

Many phaenomena which have been attributed to combined light, appear to be electrical, or to be merely the effect of the ignition of the substances, for whenever heat rises beyond a certain degree, bodies become luminous; pieces of quartz rubbed together are rendered electrical; and by percussion or friction any hard bodies may be intensely heated.

During the putrefaction of certain animal and vegetable substances, light is emitted; and this is no more difficult to account for, than the heat produced during similar operations.

The light emitted by certain living insects, appears to depend upon the secretion of a substance very easy of decomposition: and any chemical change may be supposed adequate to the production of light.

(Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 221)

Further confirmation of this supposed identity of phosphorescent and electric light is found in a passage from Beccaria:

I . . . betook myself to make experiments on the numerous class of phosphoreous bodies, enumerated by my respected friend, Signor Beccari, in the *Comentari Bolognesi*, and was soon enabled to answer Dr. Franklin, that the *phosphoreity* of the electric light was the same with that of the solar light.

(Beccaria, *Of Artificial Electricity*, p. 323)

The light which is first characterized as phosphoreous is in the next line clearly electric in character:

Or makes its chariot of a foggy cloud.

The citation of scientific analogies here is scarcely necessary. One will, at any rate, suffice:

Low and thick fogs (especially when in their rising, they find the air above them pretty free from moisture) carry up to the exploring wire, when they reach it, an electricity which becomes manifested by frequent little sparks.
(Beccaria, *Of Atmospheric Electricity*, p. 440)

This electricity would be manifest to other than the experimenter with his wires only as lightning, which is presumably the meaning here.

Or walks through fields or cities while men sleep
Or o'er the mountain tops, or down the rivers,
Or through the green waste wilderness . . .

The most plausible interpretation of these allusions is that in the first, and probably in the third, line the *ignis fatuus*, or will o' the wisp, is meant. That electric properties were supposed to pertain to it is indicated by the following citation, which, too, if the second line of the verse, "o'er the mountain-tops," etc., refers to shooting stars, meteors, and such phenomena, supplies also a gloss upon it:

Several meteors seen in the atmosphere have been suspected to be the effects of inflammable air fired by electricity. The weak lightnings, without any explosion, that are sometimes observed near the horizon in serene weather, especially in hot climates, are considered, by a very judicious philosopher, to be nothing more than inflammable air [hydrogen] detached from the earth by the heat, etc. and fired by electricity, or by some other unknown cause. Mr. Volta of Como supposes, that the *ignes fatui* are occasioned by the inflammable air which proceeds from marshy grounds, and is set on fire by electric sparks. Those meteors called *falling stars*, he supposes to be fired by the same means.

(Cavallò, *Treatise on Air and Other Elastic Fluids*, 1781, p. 647)

I may add that, in the theory of the time, electric action is posited of any vaporous manifestation of water and if, in the lines discussed, mists, fogs, or vapours, or the precipitation of dew are suggested, these phenomena would all be thought of as accompanied by electricity. Inasmuch as light seems to be the theme, whether phosphorescent or electric, invisible manifestations of electric energy should not, I think, be in question:

All the vapors, or moist effluvia whatever, which are anyhow brought to rise in the atmosphere, or which swim, or descend in it, are affected by the aerial electricity in their absolute as well as their relative motions.

(Beccaria, *Of Atmospheric Electricity*, p. 445.)

The Spirit of the Earth in recounting its activities says,

I hid myself
Within a fountain in the public square,
Where I lay like the reflex of the moon
Seen in a wave under green leaves; . . .
(*P.U.*, III. 41 ll. 61-64.)

The passage seems to me chiefly colorful, descriptive rather than scientific. But the implication is that the phosphorescent effect of moonlight in broken water under green leaves serves to conceal the Spirit which must, therefore, be identified with phosphorescence. The scientific justification for this has been established in previous citations.

I have been at some pains to annotate this passage despite the fact that Darwin's *Botanic Garden* affords so striking a parallel that Shelley in grouping electrical and phosphorescent phenomena may be thought of as merely adopting Darwin's conception together with many of his instances, transforming them into finer poetry than Darwin could achieve. So simple an explanation is probably incorrect. There is too much evidence that Shelley was miscellaneously read in the science of his day to suppose him content with a single source for his data. Darwin, too, read Beccaria, and it may well have been Darwin's notes which sent Shelley to Beccaria. But that Shelley himself read Beccaria is evident from passages which I have cited and have yet to cite.

Let the ensuing passage be read side by side with the lines from Shelley and the two compared, not for their poetic excellence, but for their content. That Shelley was indebted to Darwin is self-evident:

Effulgent Maids! You round deciduous day,
Tressed with soft beams, your glittering bands array;
On Earth's cold bosom, as the Sun retires,
Confine with folds of air the lingering fires;
O'er Eve's pale forms diffuse phosphoric light,
And deck with lambent flames the shrine of Night.
So, warm'd and kindled by meridian skies,
And view'd in darkness with dilated eyes,
Bologna's chalks with faint ignition blaze,
Beccari's shells emit prismatic rays.

(*Botanic Garden*, I. ll. 173-182)

You with light Gas the lamps nocturnal feed
Which dance and glimmer o'er the marshy mead;
Shine round Calendula at twilight hours,
And tip with silver all her saffron flowers;
Warm on her mossy couch the radiant Worm,
Guard from cold dews her love-illumin'd form,
From leaf to leaf conduct the virgin light,
Star of the earth, and diamond of the night.
You hid in air the tropic Beetle burn,
And fill with golden flame his winged urn;
Or gild the surge with insect-sparks, that swarm
Round the bright oar, the kindling prow alarm;
Or arm in waves, electric in his ire,
The dread Gymnotus with ethereal fire.

(*Ibid.*, I. ll. 189-202)

III.

“It loved our sister Asia, and it came
Each leisure hour to drink the liquid light
Out of her eyes, for which it said it thirsted
As one bit by a dipsas . . .

(*P.U.*, III. 4. ll. 16-19)

So Panthea speaks of the Spirit of the Earth. The passage conforms to the words of the Earth to Asia in the preceding scene:

This is my torch-bearer;
Who let his lamp out in old time with gazing
On eyes from which he kindled it anew
With love, which is as fire, sweet daughter mine,
For such is that within thine own. . .

(*P.U.*, III. 3. ll. 148-152)

Waiving for the present the mystical and philosophical implications of the lines, what is their scientific import?

That a constant flow of electricity to the atmosphere and back again, precipitating rain and dew, constitutes nature's round is the main thesis and demonstration of Beccaria in his *Atmospheric Electricity*. An attractive principle exists between the positive electricity of the air and the negative electricity of the earth. Such, I take it, is the meaning of Shelley's lines in *The Cloud*:

Sublime on the towers of my skyey bowers,
Lightning my pilot sits
.
Over earth and ocean with gentle motion,
This pilot is guiding me,
Lured by the love of the genii that move
In the depths of the purple sea.

The electricity of the cloud is attracted to the electricity of the earth. When it is precipitated in lightning the water vapor condenses into rain and the cloud dissolves.

The Spirit of the Earth is Asia's emissary, reporting the activities of the world, and appearing in various forms, all electrical, as we have seen. It is, therefore, atmospheric electricity, which is constantly renewed by a return to its parent—Venus, nature—here personified as Asia. The Spirit of the Earth, then, when not engaged upon its work in the air returns to its source and drinks of Asia's eyes. Or it may remain in the air without manifestation, with no task to perform.

May I then play beside thee the long noons,
When work is none in the bright silent air?
(*P.U.*, III. 4. ll. 28-29)

Why at noon, and what is the significance of "bright" and "silent"? I cite passages from Beccaria in elucidation of the whole conception, for the point is a vital one and its proof unmistakably establishes the symbolic meaning of the Spirit of the Earth.

In the morning, according as the sun rises higher, the electricity, whether it began before sun-rise, or only after, gradually increases. This gradual increase of the morning electricity begins sooner, according as the hygrometer continues, after sun-rise, to indicate a higher degree of dryness, and as such dryness more speedily increases. These increased both intensity and frequency of the electricity last, in serene days, in which no impetuous wind takes place, so long as the sun does not draw near the place of its setting, and the hygrometer keeps near the highest degree which it had reached. When the sun is near its setting, and in proportion as the hygrometer begins to retreat, the intensity of the daily electricity lessens, and its frequency increases.

(Beccaria, *Of Atmospheric Electricity*, p. 454)

On the 23d of June, the hygrometer, from -5 rose to -17,3; which denoted great dryness, for the 22d had been exceedingly wet, and I have constantly observed that one day is not sufficient to carry the hygrometer quite up to the actual degree of dryness, if the dampness was very great before. Conformably to the above great rise of the hygrometer, the electricity which, at 7 in the morning, was at zero, at 8,30 had risen to 6° and during the whole day kept at 80° or very near. On the evening at 6, the electricity had fallen to 5°; between 8 and 9, it fell to 2°; at 10 o'clock it rose again to 5°, but it soon lowered again to 3°, to 2°, and there it remained till I ceased to observe, that is till 11.25.

(*Ibid.*, p. 457)

The atmospheric electricity increases with the rise of the water vapor from the earth. In the middle of the day it is at its maximum, provided the day remains serene and there is no wind—

Impetuous winds use to lessen the intensity of the electricity of clear weather.

(*Ibid.*, p. 460)

But though the maximum of electricity exists in the atmosphere at noontime it is not active, for when active it precipitates moisture and returns to the earth. Hence the meaning of the words "when work is none in the bright silent air." I think this is the meaning also of Shelley's line

Like veiled lightning asleep

(*P.U.*, II. 3. 1. 83)

There are happily other instances in *Prometheus* which help to verify this curious use of scientific matter. The charioteer of the car whose "coursers are fed on the lightning" remarks—

On the brink of the night and the morning

My coursers are wont to respire;

But the Earth has just whispered a warning

That their flight must be swifter than fire;

(*P.U.*, II. 5. ll. 1-4)

It will be observed that in Beccaria's meteorological record there is at sunrise usually no electricity in the atmosphere, it having been precipitated in dew. Therefore the coursers rest at this time. The Charioteer remarks further:

Ere the cloud piled on Atlas can dwindle
We encircle the earth and the moon.
We shall rest from long labor at noon.
(*P.U.*, II. 4. ll. 171-173)

Although the scientific implication here is apparent, I believe the imagery slightly inconsistent with that of the preceding instance. At sunrise, when there is no electricity in the atmosphere, the coursers may properly rest, for electricity supplies them their energy. At noon the electricity contained in the atmosphere is potentially at its maximum, though quiescent, as we have previously seen. The figure seems to me not quite on all fours. But perhaps I am unduly pedantic.

Greater difficulties arise in the effort to reconcile the Spirit of the Earth of the Fourth Act with that of the preceding. Various commentators have questioned the identity of the two. The discrepancies are explained when it is remembered that the Fourth Act was an afterthought conceived in a somewhat different vein from the preceding acts. In it Shelley is picturing the new-birth of the world. Mrs. Shelley's words may be recalled: "Shelley records, more particularly in the lyrics of this drama, his abstruse and imaginative theories with regard to the Creation." The Spirit of the Earth lying asleep in the sphere of Panthea's description is something more than the spirit of atmospheric electricity of the earlier action. The whole passage is, indeed, an accurate though difficult symbolization of Shelley's scientific beliefs.

I quote the parts of Panthea's description which are most obscure and most significant:

A sphere, which is as many thousand spheres;
Solid as crystal, yet through all its mass
Flow, as through empty space, music and light;
Ten thousand orbs involving and involved,
Purple and azure, white, green and golden,
Sphere within sphere; and every space between
Peopled with unimaginable shapes,
Such as ghosts dream dwell in the lampless deep;
Yet each inter-transpicuous; and they whirl
Over each other with a thousand motions,
Upon a thousand sightless axles spinning,
And with the force of self-destroying swiftness,
Intensely, slowly, solemnly, roll on. . .

With mighty whirl the multitudinous orb,
Grinds the bright brook into an azure mist
Of elemental subtlety, like light; . . .
Round its intense yet self-conflicting speed
Seem kneaded into one aërial mass.

(*P.U.*, IV. ll. 238-260)

Conceptions of matter and force are involved in this which, for adequate review, demand a study of the theories of Newton and Humphry Davy at the least. Nor can I pretend to elucidate each line. Passages from Davy will, however, briefly point the way to an interpretation which at some subsequent time can be carried out in detail. The "ten thousand orbs involving and involved," "spinning on sightless axles," "with self-destroying swiftness" in "intense yet self-conflicting speed" are at the heart of the difficulty and are best elucidated by a brief consideration of Davy's remarkable speculations as to the nature of matter, speculations which strikingly anticipate the most advanced theories of today.

Newton's hypothesis of the ether as the primordial essence of which matter and force in their various manifestations might be derived seemed in early 19th century science, at least to imaginative thinkers, such as Darwin and Davy, to be on the road to verification. The possible identification of magnetism and electricity, of light and electricity, of electrical and chemical action, and of chemical action and heat are to be found in the speculations of the two, and, in Davy, a surmise which closely anticipates the electron theory of modern chemistry. Space forbids an exhaustive review of the matter. I cite a number of excerpts in as brief form as possible to substantiate my statement.

Electrical effects are exhibited by the same bodies, when acting as masses, which produce chemical phenomena when acting by their particles; it is not therefore improbable, that the primary cause of both may be the same.

(Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 164)

The later investigations on light, teach us that there is still much to learn with respect to the affections and motions of radiant matter; and this subject when understood, promises to connect together chemical and mechanical science. . . .

If that sublime idea of the ancient philosophers which has been sanctioned by the approbation of Newton, should be true, namely, that there is only one species of matter, the different chemical, as well as mechanical forms of which are owing to the different arrangements of its particles, then a method of analyzing those forms may probably be found in their relations to radiant matter.

(*Ibid.*, p. 223)

There is, however, no impossibility in the supposition that the same ponderable matter in different electrical states, or in different arrangements, may constitute substances chemically different. . . . Even if it should be ultimately

found that oxygene and hydrogene are the same matter in different states of electricity, or that two or three elements in different proportions constitute all bodies, the great doctrines of chemistry, the theory of definite proportions, and the specific attractions of bodies must remain immutable. . . .

That the forms of natural bodies may depend upon different arrangements of the same particles of matter has been a favorite hypothesis advanced in the earliest era of physical research, and often supported by the reasonings of the ablest philosophers.

(*Ibid.*, p. 487)

The same great man [Newton] has put the query whether light and common matter are not convertible into each other; and adopting the idea that the phenomena of sensible heat depend upon the vibrations of the particles of bodies, supposes that a certain intensity of vibrations may send off particles into free space, and that particles in rapid motion, may communicate a vibratory motion to the particles of terrestrial bodies.

(*Ibid.*, p. 215)

Matter may ultimately be found to be the same in essence, differing only in the arrangement of its particles; or two or three simple substances may produce all the varieties of compound bodies.

(*Ibid.*, p. 181)

Whether matter consists of individual corpuseles, or physical points endowed with attraction and repulsion, still the same conclusions may be formed concerning the powers by which they act, and the quantities in which they combine, and the powers seem capable of being measured by their electrical relations, and the quantities on which they act of being expressed by numbers.

(*Ibid.*, p. 57)

Since all matter may be made to fill a smaller volume by cooling, it is evident that the particles of matter must have space between them; and since every body can communicate the power of expansion to a body of lower temperature, that is, can give an expansive motion to its particles, it is a probable inference that its own particles are possessed of motion; but as there is no change in the position of its parts as long as its temperature is uniform, the motion if it exist, must be a vibratory or undulatory motion, or a motion of the particles round their axes, or a motion of particles round each other.

(*Ibid.*, p. 95)

The last citation is especially important as expressing the idea of ultimate units of matter in a state of rotation within seeming stability, the idea expressed in *Prometheus* in the "sightless axles spinning," the "force of self-destroying swiftness," and "the intense and self-conflicting speed." But lest I seem to strain to make the point, I offer in further substantiation two passages from Darwin's *Botanic Garden* wherein the same idea is conveyed. "Gnomes" and "effulgent legions," be it understood, are the insipid terminology of Darwin's personification of chemical elements.

The Goddess paused, admired with conscious pride
The effulgent legions marshal'd by her side,
Forms spher'd in fire with trembling light array'd
Ens without weight, and substance without shade.

(*Botanic Garden*, I. ll. 421-424)

And now the Goddess with attention sweet
Turns to the Gnomes, that circle round her feet;

Orb within orb approach the marshal'd trains,
 And pygmy legions darken all the plains.
 (*Ibid.*, II. ll. 1-4)

Whether the color of the orbs in Shelley's description is merely for the sake of visual effect or whether he endows each element with a characteristic color probably cannot be ascertained with certainty. But as each chemical element burns with a characteristic color it would be in keeping with the scientific interpretation of the passage to suppose the colors meaningful. The "elemental subtlety, like light" is presumably Newton's ether from which light and matter are supposed to come.²

Let me conclude this discussion of electricity with the quotation from which the whole investigation took its origin.

And from a star upon its forehead shoot,
 Like swords of azure fire or golden spears
 With tyrant-quelling myrtle overtwined,
 Embleming heaven and earth united now,
 Vast beams like spokes of some invisible wheel
 Which whirl as the orb whirls, swifter than thought,
 Filling the abyss with sun-like lightnings,
 And perpendicular now, and now transverse,
 Pierce the dark soil, and as they pierce and pass
 Make bare the secrets of the earth's deep heart.
 (*P.U.*, IV. ll. 270-279)

The interpretation of the last lines was tentatively given, and I believe that the discussion of Shelley's method as a whole has substantiated it. The "swords of azure fire or golden spears" is descriptive of the more characteristic blue electric spark. The "vast beams like spokes of some invisible wheel . . . filling the abyss with sun-like lightnings" are fully explained by the following excerpt taken from a youthful hypothesis of Humphry Davy's as quoted in the memoir by his brother:

The electric fluid is probably light in a condensed state; that is, not supplied with the repulsive motion sufficient to give it repulsive projection. Its chemical action upon bodies is similar to that of light; and, when supplied with repulsive motion by friction, or the contact of bodies from which it is capable of subtracting it, it takes the repulsive projectile form, and becomes perceptible as light. It is extremely probable that the great quantity of this fluid almost everywhere diffused on our earth is produced from the condensation of light, from the subtraction of its repulsive motion by black or dark bodies. This fluid, continually formed from the condensation of light, is probably again supplied with repulsive motion at the poles, by the revolution of the earth on its axis, and given off in the form of repulsive projectile light; whilst a quantity equal to that given off by its equilibrating principle is supplied continually from other parts of the globe. Hence the phenomena of the aurora borealis, or northern lights. No more sublime idea can be formed of

² Newton, Letter to Oldenburg, Jan. 25, 1675-6.

the motions of matter, than to conceive that the different species are continually changing into each other. The gravitative, the mechanical and the repulsive motions appear to be continually mutually producing each other, and from these changes all the phenomena of the mutation of matter probably arise.

(*Memoirs of the Life of Sir H. Davy*, I, 46)

I have omitted in this discussion many contributory minor passages which would aid in substantiating the larger thesis. For the subject is vast and difficult. Nor can I claim to have interpreted certain other passages, the clue to whose meaning I have not yet found. If it is thought that I have argued the case over-subtly, let Mrs. Shelley's words be recalled: "It requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered throughout the poem. They elude the ordinary reader by their abstraction and delicacy of distinction but they are far from vague." An ordinary mind, even with all the aids of contemporary source material, can hardly strain too far. And it is only fair to ask one who rejects this interpretation of a poem which has hitherto baffled criticism, What alternative have you to offer? This scientific reading is intelligible and consistent and is in accord with what we know of Shelley's imaginative processes.

IV.

I shall make no attempt in this place to enter into an exhaustive discussion of the philosophy or deeper allegory of *Prometheus Unbound*. An examination of the scientific imagery is merely preliminary to the larger problem which necessitates an examination of all the major sources of Shelley's ideas—Platonic, mystical, French revolutionary, and scientific. Shelley's development as a thinker is marked by his successive attempts to formulate a consistent and adequate philosophy. He struggled against the mechanistic ideas of 18th century philosophy and succeeded at last in reconciling them with Platonic and mystical ideas. *Prometheus Unbound* is the result. In this synthesis the part played by scientific thought is of the greatest importance.

For it has already been shown that imaginative scientists, such as Davy and Darwin and, before them, Newton, had succeeded in reducing matter, theoretically, to an expression of force: to manifestations of the ether or to particles positively and electrically charged which in various arrangements constitute the so-called elements. Forces, though variously manifested, were reducible also in theory to one—ether, light, or electricity. Matter and force so

construed have scarcely more actuality as such than phantasms created by the intellectual principle for its amusement and edification—a doctrine originating in Plato and developed by the neoplatonists. Science on this theoretical plane is scarcely distinguishable from metaphysics.

It needed only the identification of the life principle itself with the primordial source of all things to achieve a complete theoretical unity. There is evidence that Shelley employed this speculation in *Prometheus*. The Spirit of the Earth, personifying, as we have seen, atmospheric electricity, the torch bearer of the earth, kindles his lamp anew with gazing on Asia's eyes which well "with love, which is as fire." And Prometheus, speaking of the golden age before the coming of Jove, says:

I wandered once
With Asia, drinking life from her loved eyes.
(*P.U.*, I. ll. 122-3)

In the more speculative scientific thinking of Shelley's time attempts were made to identify the life-force with electricity. Much interest was manifested in experiments with frogs and the galvanic battery. Nervous action it seemed might be identifiable with galvanism and galvanism with electricity. Beccaria plays with the idea of the blood exciting electricity in the body through friction, "against the venal or arterial vessels."³ Davy while conceding the possibility of similar phenomena warns against too fanciful speculation thereon, but the warning is no necessary deterrent to a poet bent on a metaphysical unification of existence.

It has been conceived that other phenomena of living action may be connected with the operation of weak electrical powers; such as secretion; and some ingenious hints on this subject have been advanced by Mr. Wollaston and Mr. Howe. . . . Such inquiries are worthy of further pursuit, as they may tend to elucidate some important functions of the animal economy; but they must not be confounded with certain vague speculations, that have been advanced by some authors, on the general dependence of nervous or sensitive action, and muscular or irritable action, upon electricity. . .⁴

Yet Davy's own experience when under the influence of nitrous oxide may serve better than any other to bridge the gap between science and metaphysics and symbolize Shelley's attempt in *Prometheus*:

I exclaimed to Dr. Kinglake, 'Nothing exists but thoughts! the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures, and pains.'⁵

³ *Of Artificial Electricity*, p. 288.

⁴ Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 174.

⁵ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Humphry Davy*, I, 99.

THE REVISION OF THE FOLIO TEXT OF *THE TAMING OF THE SHREW*

By FLORENCE HUBER ASHTON
University of Iowa

The stylistic irregularities of *The Taming of the Shrew* have long been explained in two ways. One group of scholars has accounted for them on the basis of collaboration or dual authorship. Another group, ignoring these irregularities, has assigned the entire play to Shakespeare. The most recent exponent of the complete authorship idea is Professor E. P. Kuhl who has refuted the arguments hitherto advanced in support of dual authorship by insisting on the structural unity of the play and the existence of significant parallel passages.¹

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the irregularities which undoubtedly do exist throughout the play are due to the fact that the play, as we have it, is the result of the revision or re-working of an old play. It is my further purpose to show that such revision was made for the purpose of introducing greater plot complication, better motivation, and fuller characterization. Proof of revision appears in certain bibliographical peculiarities recurrent throughout the Folio text. These peculiarities can be classified as follows: (1) marginal or paginal insertion of new material, (2) confused speech headings, and (3) the deletion of old material.

The first of these peculiarities, i.e., the insertion of new material, is the most significant evidence in support of the revision theory. Newly inserted material is distinguishable through (1) eccentric line arrangement, (2) the appearance of verse as prose and prose as verse, and (3) the confusion of verse and prose in the same speech.² An examination of these peculiarities leads us to conclude that these insertions were made for the purpose of introducing new elements into the Gremio-Hortensio-Lucentio-Tranio plot;

¹ Kuhl, Ernest P., "Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*," *PMLA*, XL (1925), pp. 551-618.

² For the general methods of textual criticism employed see J. Dover Wilson's textual introduction to *The Tempest*, N. Y., 1921; *Love's Labor's Lost*, Cambridge, 1923; and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Cambridge, 1924; and Van Dam, B. A. P., *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, London, 1924.

for the better motivation of certain scenes of this plot; and for the fuller characterization of Petruchio.

In I, i, 1-90 (F. 211 I & II)³ Lucentio's and Tranio's discussion of their intended pursuits at Padua is interrupted by the appearance of Baptista, Katherine, Bianca, Gremio, and Hortensio, and by the ensuing dialogue in which Baptista again emphasizes the conditions relevant to Bianca's marriage. These lines, with the exception of a speech by Hortensio (ll. 59-60), in which a two foot line appears, are in good iambic pentameter verse. At line 91, however, irregularities begin. Baptista's speech

Gentlemen content ye; I am resolved:
Go in, Bianca.

shows a two foot line in the second verse. From this point up to line 151 the style is increasingly faulty. Kate's speech beginning, "Why and I trust I may go too may I not," contains lines of five, five, four, three feet respectively. Gremio's answer in prose (line 106 ff.), "You may go to the devil's dam . . .", includes two good iambic pentameter lines: "Their love is not so great Hortensio" and "Yet for the love I bear my sweet Bianca." Hortensio's reply (l. 115) is rhythmic prose falling roughly into pentameter and hexameter lines of very irregular meter. From this point up to line 151 where the style of the earlier part of the scene is resumed in Tranio's speech, the prose is less rhythmic. These lines (90-151) seem to represent a paginal insertion introduced between Bianca's exit and Tranio's comment on Lucentio's sudden love for her.⁴ In these lines the author introduces two important plot elements: Baptista's desire to secure schoolmasters for Bianca, and Hortensio's and Gremio's alliance in order to find a husband for Katherine, which seem to me to have been the occasion of revision.

The next example of irregularity comes in I, i, 250-253 (F. 212 II) where Lucentio, after having planned a disguise with Tranio, begins his speech with a broken line, "Tranio let's go," and adds, more or less as an afterthought,

³ References are to the *Globe Shakespeare*, edited by William George Clark and William Aldis Wright, N. Y., 1911, and to a facsimile of the 1623 edition of Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, London: Methuen, 1910 (F.).

⁴ In his discussion of the copy for *Love's Labor's Lost*, Mr. J. Dover Wilson suggests that Shakespeare wrote from forty-five to fifty-five lines to one page of foolscap. (Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, and Wilson, J. Dover, *Love's Labors Lost*, Cambridge, 1923.)

The lines under discussion represent fifty-five lines in the Folio.

One thing more rests, that thyself execute
 To make one among these wooers, if thou ask me why
 Sufficeth my reasons are both good and weighty.

The nature of this speech, the presence of the initial truncated line, and the irregularity of the three following lines indicate a marginal insertion. Probably the speech, "Tranio let's go," originally ended with the exit of Lucentio and his servant. The three following lines were included to introduce another significant element in the plot, that is, Lucentio's wooing of Bianca through his servant, Tranio.

Another case of insertion occurs in I, ii, 138-141 (F. 213 II) where Gremio's comment on Hortensio's plan to appear to Bianca disguised as a schoolmaster, although verse, is written as prose. This was inserted marginally, probably for the purpose of amplifying the character of Gremio and so developing the newly introduced plot element. Crowded in the margin, it was mistaken for prose by the printer. Since this speech occurs after Hortensio's plan to have Petruchio present him as a schoolmaster, one would naturally suppose that that speech was also added marginally, but was copied correctly by the printer.

The next example of insertion appears in II, i, 71-115 (F. 215 I & II). After Petruchio has introduced himself to Baptista, declared his intention to marry Katherine, and presented Hortensio disguised as a music master, Gremio rudely interrupts the dialogue in order to present to Baptista, Lucentio (Cambio) as a schoolmaster. Most of the forty-five lines (constituting as I believe one page of manuscript) which are introduced between this point and the point at which Petruchio is allowed to resume his conversation with Baptista present unmistakable evidence of revision. Gremio's first speech of three fairly regular iambic pentameter lines appears as prose in the Folio, while his second speech, which—aside from the first and last lines—is badly confused prose, is written as verse. Petruchio's speech is a faulty heptameter line. All of these lines (II, i, 70-115) seem to have been written in the margin to replace cancellations in the old text and, when transferred to the Folio text by the compositor, were set down with their original lineation. With the recognition of Tranio (Lucentio) by Baptista in the next speech, we are again confronted with difficulties. Here the trimeter verse in the third line might not be significant if it did not so obviously belong to the last part of the preceding line at which

point there is a sudden break in the dialogue. From "gentle sir" (l. 85) to the end of Baptista's speech (l. 88) we have two good iambic pentameter lines. These introduce the next speech by Tranio (Lucentio). Here Tranio merely introduces himself as a suitor of Bianca and presents Baptista with a small packet of Greek and Latin books. Since he fails to give his name, Baptista's immediate recognition of him as Lucentio is a bit puzzling. This omission and the break in Baptista's speech just referred to evidently indicate the deletion of certain relevant material and the substitution of these speeches of Baptista and Tranio (Lucentio).

This entire section (70-115) may represent a paginal insertion between Gremio's rude interruption of Petruchio's interview with Baptista and his resumption of it. This is probable since Petruchio's speech (ll. 115-117)

Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste,
And every day I cannot come to woo.
You knew my father well, and in him me.

could well have been a reply to Baptista's, "I knew him well: you are welcome for his sake" (l. 70). On the other hand, all the revision may have been in the margin of the original copy. In the first case we are including in the fifty-five line page ten lines which show no evidence of having been tampered with and are acknowledging two or perhaps three marginal insertions. It is not improbable, however, that the last lines of a paginal insertion would be more smoothly written in order to provide adequate transition between new and old material, and that the author, dissatisfied with parts of his new page, should make deletions and marginal insertions in it.

At any rate, the text has been revised for the purpose of re-introducing a thread of the plot presented in the first, second, and third sections which we have already shown to be bibliographically imperfect. In the first of these sections (I, i, 90-151) Gremio and Hortensio have planned to get a husband for Katherine and to please Baptista by securing schoolmasters for his daughters. In the second section (I, i, 250-253) Lucentio has instructed Tranio, with whom he has exchanged identity, to present himself as a suitor to Bianca. In the third section (I, ii, 138-141) Gremio's speech is probably a part of an insertion in which Hortensio requests Petruchio to present him to Baptista as a music master. These plot elements again appear in section four (II, i, 71-115)

where, immediately following the introduction of Petruchio to Baptista, the schoolmasters are presented in the form of Hortensio (Litio), the musician, and Lucentio (Cambio) the pedant. And here, too, a few lines later, the disguised Tranio presents himself to Baptista as a suitor. In other words, identical phases of the same plot appear in all four sections.

The next case of insertion is equally obvious. It comes in III, ii, 130-185 (F. 219 II-220 I). Here a fifty-five line page has been introduced between the exit of the madly attired Petruchio and his reappearance with the bridal party after the wedding. The beginning of this insertion is marked by Tranio's decidedly abrupt and irrelevant speech to Lucentio. No attempt has been made to cover up the gap between Baptista's "I'll after him, and see the event of this" (l. 129) and Tranio's "But to her love concerneth us to add. . ." (l. 130). From this point the scene continues with Tranio's suggestion to secure a "supposed" Vincentio, and Lucentio's hint at his possible secret marriage to Bianca; it ends with Gremio's return from the church and his description of the wedding. Gremio's first four speeches are correctly printed as verse. His next speech (l. 169), which is good iambic pentameter, with the exception of the eighth line, is printed as prose. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the author, coming to the end of his page and not wishing to use a new one for the few lines which were to follow, broke up his verse arrangement and crowded the speech in the remaining space. Thus the end of the insertion is as easily discernible as its beginning.

We should note that this page contains another element of the Tranio-Lucentio plot, i.e., Tranio's suggestion to secure a "supposed" Vincentio to seal the marriage agreement between Lucentio and Baptista, as well as the hint by Lucentio as to his possible secret marriage to Bianca. Gremio's description of the wedding is introduced to fill up time and to characterize further both Gremio and Petruchio.

The next plain case of insertion comes in a scene similar to the last part of the scene just discussed. In IV, i, 182-191 (F. 222 I) the servants, taking advantage of Petruchio's short absence, comment on their master's behavior. Curtis's speech of five lines of verse is incorrectly printed as prose. This was probably inserted in the margin together with the preceding speeches of Nathaniel, Peter, and Grumio, which, because of their brevity, could not be

confused by the printer. Here again the author has resorted to the device of inserting dialogue to fill in time and to characterize further Petruchio through his servants' comments.

We may conclude, then, that insertions have been made in the old play (1) to introduce the Hortensio-Gremio device to find a husband for Katherine and schoolmasters for Bianca, (2) to introduce Tranio, disguised as Lucentio, among the wooers, (3) to prepare us for the secret marriage of Lucentio and Bianca, and (4) to characterize Petruchio through the conversation of his friends and servants.

These conclusions are strengthened by an examination of the second type of bibliographical peculiarity, i.e., confused speech headings.

The first of this type of irregularity is in III, i, 47-59 (F. 218 II), where Hortensio and Lucentio, acting in their new rôles as music master and pedagogue, attempt to instruct Bianca. Here the Folio reads

- Hort.* The base is right, 'tis the base knave that jars.
Luc. How fiery and forward our Pedant is,
 Now for my life the knave doth court my love,
Pedascule, Ile watch you better yet:
 In time I may believe, yet I mistrust.
Bian. Mistrust it not, for sure *Acacides*
 Was *Ajax* called so from his grandfather.
Hort. I must believe my master, else I promise you,
 I should be arguing still upon that doubt;
 But let it rest, now *Litio* to you:
 Good master take it not unkindly pray
 That I have been thus pleasant with you both.
Hort. You may go walk, and give me leave a while,
 My Lessons make no music in three parts.

The speech headings should be assigned as follows:

- Hort.* The base is right, 'tis the base knave that jars.
 How fiery and forward our pedant is,
 Now for my life the knave doth court my love,
Pedascule, Ile watch you better yet:
Bian. In time I may believe, yet I mistrust.
Luc. Mistrust it not, for sure *Acacides*
 Was *Ajax* called so from his grandfather.
Bian. I must believe my master, else I promise you,
 I should be arguing still upon that doubt;
 But let it rest, now *Litio* to you:
 Good master take it not unkindly pray
 That I have been thus pleasant with you both.
Hort. You may go walk, and give me leave a while,
 My Lessons make no music in three parts.

Two points in this section are significant. First, the last two

speeches have both been given to Hortensio, and, secondly, all the speeches have been assigned to the wrong characters. These irregularities can be explained on the basis of a marginal insertion. This insertion was made between what must have been the first and second lines of Hortensio's original speech:

Hort. The base is right; 'tis the base knave that jars. ((l. 47)
You may go walk, and give me leave a while. (l. 59)

Coming to the first speech in the insertion, the compositor, having already given a line to Hortensio, and mistaking the *Hort.* for *Luc.*⁵ assigned that speech to Lucentio. Coming to the next speech, he dropped Bianca's heading down a line into the place belonging to Lucentio, thus missing one heading entirely. Then misreading *Hort.* for *Bian.*, gave the last speech to Hortensio.

That this misreading was what did occur, becomes more evident when we find in IV, ii, 4-8 (F. 222 I-II) another case of the confusion of the Lucentio-Hortensio speech headings. In line 4, Hortensio's speech has been given to Lucentio, and in lines 6 and 8 Lucentio's speech has been given to Hortensio. In the first case of misreading of speech headings we have further confirmation of our belief that the insertions were made partly for the introduction of the Hortensio-Lucentio-schoolmaster plot. The second case of misreading lends validity to our conjecture concerning the possibility of misreading these speech headings.

Another case of wrongly assigned speeches is found in IV, iv, 2-7 (F. 225 I):

Ped. I what else, and but I be deceived,
Signior *Baptista* may remember me
Neere twenty yeares a goe in *Genoa*.
Tra. Where we were lodgers, at the *Pegasus*,
Tis well, and hold your own in any case
With such austeritie as longeth to a father.

The first line of Tranio's speech belongs to the pedant. This is undoubtedly simply a compositor's error; it will be noticed that it occurs in a Tranio-pedant scene.

Two other cases of confused speech headings occur. In IV, ii, 59-71 (F. 223 I) Biondello rushes in to announce to Tranio that he has found "An ancient angel coming down the hill Will serve

⁵ Since Elizabethan *B* resembled *H* and *L*, and *c* was readily confused with *r* and *t*, and *i* with *r* this might easily have occurred. See Kellner, Leon, *Restoring Shakespeare*. New York, 1925, pp. 21, 22, 192, 199, 201, 207, 211.

thy turn." To Lucentio's question as to what use he will make of him, Tranio replies,

Tra. If he be credulous and trust my tale,
Ile make him glad to seeme *Vincentio*,
And give assurance to *Baptista Minola*
As if he were the right *Vincentio*.

Then seeing the pedant approaching, he directs Lucentio to

Par. Take me your love and then let me alone.⁶

This speech, though obviously belonging to Tranio, has been assigned in the Folio to a character called *Par.* *Par.* could not have been a misreading for *Tra.*⁷ and is not an abbreviation for the name of a member of Shakespeare's company.⁸ Although this line belongs naturally enough to Tranio, the transition between it and the other four lines is abrupt. In working over the old play the author has added new material up to this line of the play, and then forgetting to delete the speech heading of the old play, he has left evidence of his reworking. Again we should observe that this section contains the same thread of the Tranio-pedant plot we noted in the preceding sections.

The remaining case of confused headings occurs in IV, iii, 63 (F. 224 I) when the tailor's speech is given to *Fel.* *Fel.* cannot be a misreading for *Tail.*,⁹ nor have I been able to find the name of a player for which it could have been an abbreviation.¹⁰ This may, therefore, also indicate a survival of an old play.

Finally, since the insertion of new material in the text of the old play would have lengthened it unnecessarily, the author has taken pains to delete certain superfluous passages from the old play. These cancellations or deletions comprise the third type of bibliographical evidence. Cases of deleted passages have already been discussed in connection with insertions. In these cases insertions have been made to cover up the cuts; in other cases, however, no attempt has been made to conceal them, and they stand out pretty clearly.

⁶ Theobald's emendation of this line to "Take in your love and then let me alone" has been generally accepted as correct. The minim letters *m*, *e*, *i*, and *n*, especially in such combinations as *me* and *in*, could very easily have been confused by the printer. See Kellner, *op. cit.*, pp. 195, 200, 202, 203.

⁷ Kellner, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27, 91, 105, 205, 211.

⁸ Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, 1923. II, 192-220.

⁹ Kellner, L., *op. cit.*, 23, 27, 57, 107.

¹⁰ Chambers, E. K., *op. cit.*, II, 192-220.

In III, ii, 30 (F. 219 I) when Biondello announces Petruchio's arrival with

Bion. Master, master, newes, and such newes as you never heard of,

Baptista replies, "Is it new and old too? How may that be?" and eight lines farther on (l. 42) Tranio, referring to Biondello's speech, remarks, "But say, what to thine old newes?" Since Biondello's speech includes no mention of "old newes," Baptista's and Tranio's reference to it must indicate the omission of part of Biondello's speech. This may have been purposive cancellation on the part of the author or merely accidental omission on the part of the printer.¹¹

Another case of cancellation occurs in IV, i, 154 (F. 221 II). Here, among Petruchio's blustering orders to his servants, is included a command to one of them to

Pet. . . . get you hence,
And bid my cousin *Ferdinand* come hither.

Ferdinand, he explains to Katherine, is one that she "must kisse and be acquainted with." This cousin must have been a fairly important member of Petruchio's household, yet he never appears and is mentioned in only this one reference.

Again in IV, iv, 68 (F. 225 II) we find a clearer case of cancellation. After Tranio's speech, "Dally not with the Gods but get you hence," the stage direction, *Enter Peter*, appears. Peter is given no part in the subsequent dialogue. Whatever his part may have been, it has been cancelled here, possibly for the purpose of inserting the scene between Biondello and Lucentio. This scene has to do with the secret marriage of Lucentio to Bianca, a plot which has been hinted at once before in III, ii, 130-185 (F. 219 II-220 I), where Lucentio tells Tranio "'Twere good me-thinks to steale our marriage." This speech occurs in a section which we believe to be a paginal insertion. Here, then, as well as in the two preceding cases, we must believe that the author eliminated old and irrelevant material in order to introduce new material and to shorten the play.

We may conclude, then, from the foregoing examples of textual peculiarities that the text of *The Shrew* was revised for the purpose of introducing new plot elements, and that these elements were

¹¹ The fact that this speech in the Folio is followed by a comma further indicates cancellation or omission of other material.

concerned with certain phases of the Hortensio-Gremio and Lucentio-Tranio plot. That the revision did not include the entire subplot is evident since there are scenes, good bibliographically, in which these characters appear. Such scenes we have in I, ii, 19-137, where Hortensio wishes Petruchio "to an ill favored wife"; in I, ii, 145 ff., where Gremio finds Lucentio, the pedagogue, and directs him concerning the instruction of Bianca, and Hortensio announces the finding of a musician (Hortensio himself); in I, ii, where Tranio introduces himself among the wooers; in II, i, 142 ff., where Hortensio returns from the music lesson; in IV, ii, 72 ff., in the conversation between Tranio and the pendant; and in the same scene where Tranio and the pendant make final arrangements with Baptista concerning the marriage.

These scenes, it will be observed, represent the plot in a more or less advanced stage of development. If we examine the contents of the bad scenes, we shall see that they have been added in order better to motivate these scenes which follow. I, ii, 90-151, in which Hortensio and Gremio plan to get a husband for Katherine and schoolmasters for Bianca, furnishes motivation for I, ii. I, i, 250-253, in which Lucentio proposes Tranio's participation in the wooing, furnishes motivation for the last part of I, ii, where Tranio introduces himself among the wooers; III, ii, 130-185, in which Tranio suggests securing a "supposed" Vincentio, motivates IV, ii, where Tranio persuades the pedant to act as Vincentio.

Those scenes which were not added for motivation were inserted for the sake of fuller characterization.

It is important to notice that all of these examples of textual irregularities occur in scenes which other critics have declared, on the basis of stylistic irregularities, to be non-Shakespearian. We believe that the evidence we have presented is sufficient to prove that they are, rather, the result of a fairly drastic revision of the text for the purpose of giving it better motivation and fuller characterization. As to the question of whether or not the scenes as revised are the work of Shakespeare or another, I do not at this time pretend to say. I merely adduce evidence of the revision above described.

ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE RESTORATION AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

By RONALD S. CRANE
University of Chicago

This bibliography undertakes to provide a classified list of the books, articles, and reviews relating to the period 1660-1800 which were published during the year 1926, together with a few bearing a 1925 imprint which came to my attention too late to be included in the bibliography for that year (*PQ*, V, 341-83). Though I have made a serious effort to examine all the more important periodicals and other bibliographical sources significant for this field of study, a selective rather than an exhaustive list has been my aim; I have, for example, excluded most of the purely commercial reprints of eighteenth-century texts now being issued in increasing numbers, especially by English publishers, and I have likewise omitted a good many articles or notes that seemed to me to contain nothing new in the way either of facts or of ideas. Even within these limits, however, I cannot hope that I have not overlooked items that deserved to be included, and I shall be grateful to anyone who will inform me of such oversights. Professors V. B. Heltzel, F. B. Kaye, Baldwin Maxwell, and George Sherburn have contributed the reviews signed with their respective initials.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHR=*American historical review*.
Archiv=*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*.
Beiblatt=*Beiblatt zur Anglia*.
EHR=*English historical review*.
ES=*Englische Studien*.
GRM=*Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*.
JEGP=*Journal of English and Germanic philology*.
LM=*London mercury*.
MLN=*Modern language notes*.
MLR=*Modern language review*.
MP=*Modern philology*.
N&Q=*Notes and queries*.
PMLA=*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.
PQ=*Philological quarterly*.
RAA=*Revue anglo-américaine*.
RC=*Revue critique*.
RCC=*Revue des cours et conférences*.

*REL*V=Revue de l'enseignement des langues vivantes.

RES=Review of English studies.

RH=Revue historique.

RHL=Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France.

RLC=Revue de littérature comparée.

RSH=Revue de synthèse historique.

SP=Studies in philology.

SRL=Saturday review of literature.

TLS=Times [London] literary supplement.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

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II. STUDIES DEALING WITH CURRENTS OF IDEAS AND TASTE, THE CONDITION OF WRITERS, AND LITERARY FORMS

Baron, Hans. "'Christliches Naturrecht' und 'Ewiges Recht': eine Erwiderung." *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIII (1926), 413-32.

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Black, J. B. *The art of history: a study of four great historians of the eighteenth century*. London: Methuen; New York: F. S. Crofts, 1926.

Rev. by Carl Becker in *AHR*, XXXII (1927), 295-96; by Alice Gardner in *EH&R*, XLI (1926), 460-61; by N. Sykes in *History*, XI (1926), 265-66.

"This book," says Black in his preface, "does not profess to be a discussion of eighteenth century historiography in general; its object is specific, viz., to examine sympathetically and critically, the ideas entertained by Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, with respect to the theory and practice of the historical art." This restriction of aim accounts for the absence of certain features which we should have the right to expect in a more systematic treatment of the subject. Thus neither the conditions which made the eighteenth century a period of active historical writing nor those which explain the characteristic limitations of this writing are anywhere adequately set forth. The Introduction, which undertakes among other things to describe the general intellectual atmosphere in which eighteenth-century historiography developed, is a superficial compilation based mainly upon Leslie Stephen. No account, moreover, is given of the minor historians, and little attempt is made to put the ideas of the major writers clearly and precisely into their setting.

If the reader is interested chiefly in matters like these, he had best leave the book unread. At the same time, within the limits defined in the author's opening statement, the volume deserves much praise. For a modern professional historian, Black has an unusually well developed literary sense: his comparison of Robertson and Prescott (pp. 123-28) and his concluding remarks on the art and style of Gibbon (pp. 173-83) are admirable bits of criticism. He has a sure eye, too, for what is characteristic in the general thinking of his four historians. It would be hard, for example, in the same space, to better his analysis of the relation of Hume's historiography to his theories of knowledge and of politics. Of the four portraits, the best, because the freshest, are those of Hume and Robertson. It was less easy, no doubt, to find anything new to say of either Voltaire or Gibbon, and as a matter of fact in these chapters Black rather suffers by comparison with certain of his recent predecessors, notably Lanson and Fueter. His Voltaire, however, is on the whole an intelligent and discriminating piece of work (if he misses the full significance of the *Lettres philosophiques* in the formation of the theory of history that resulted in the *Essai sur les mœurs*, he at least sins in good company), and his Gibbon, though hardly adequate to the importance of the subject, can nevertheless be read with profit.

Bluestocking letters. Selected, with an introduction, by R. Brimley Johnson. London: John Lane, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Apr. 15, 1926, p. 281.

Selections from the letters of Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Chapone, and Mrs. Carter.

A Book of English verse satire. Chosen and annotated by A. G. Barnes. London: Methuen, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, June 24, 1926, p. 429.

Bradley, L. J. H. "Le Fevre's 'Chymistry.'" *TLS*, July 22, 1926, p. 496.

Comment by David Murray, *ibid.*, Aug. 5, p. 525; by L. J. H. Bradley, *ibid.*, Aug. 12, p. 537.

Bibliographical details of interest to students of the scientific literature of the Restoration.

Bragg, Marion K. *The formal eclogue in eighteenth-century England*. Orono, Maine: University Press, 1926. ("University of Maine studies," 2nd series, No. 6.)

For an American Master's dissertation this monograph shows unusually wide reading and careful formulation of conclusions. One is rather surprised to find no mention of the vogue and influence of Gessner.

Brinton, Crane. *The political ideas of the English romanticists*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Rev. by Agnes Brown in *Economica*, Nov. 1926, pp. 357-59; in *SRL*, Nov. 6, 1926, p. 281; in *TLS*, Aug. 19, 1926, p. 543.

Calverton, V. F. "Social change and the sentimental comedy." *Modern quarterly*, III (1926), 169-88.

Rather crude Marxism.

✓ Campbell, Oscar James, and Paul Mueschke. "'Guilt and sorrow': a study in the genesis of Wordsworth's aesthetic." *MP*, XXIII (1926), 293-306.

Valuable hints for the student of literary ideas in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Child, Harold. "Revivals of English dramatic works, 1919-1925." *RES*, II (1926), 177-88.

Pp. 185-87 list revivals of Restoration and eighteenth-century plays.

Clark, A. F. B. *Boileau and the French classical critics in England (1660-1830)*. Paris: Champion, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 345-46.

Rev. by J. G. Robertson in *MLR*, XXI (1926), 324-25; in *TLS*, Jan. 7, 1926, p. 9.

Collins, A. S. "The growth of the reading public during the eighteenth century." *RES*, II (1926), 284-94, 428-38.

The marked increase in the size of the English reading public during the eighteenth century is a phenomenon with which all students of the period are of course familiar. It was an excellent idea, however, to bring together, as Collins has done in this well written article, the principal facts which either illustrate this growth or help to account for it. His method is perhaps a bit too impressionistic for a serious study, and some of his generalizations are certainly excessive. Consider, for example, his opening remarks (p. 284) on the public of Addison's time: "It was confined to London, and mostly to fashionable London. . . . There was no demand for literature from the 'gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman,' and the country clergyman's books were limited to the few dusty and long-untouched volumes which he had brought from college and still respected, though past reading them. There was little intellectual life outside London, and there was not much within." Statements like these are not uncommon in books about the eighteenth century, and they have behind them the authority of Macaulay and, more recently, of Beljame; but it is hard to reconcile them with the facts concerning the provincial book-trade given in Plomer's two *Dictionaries*, or with the sales of private libraries recorded in the British Museum *List of catalogues of English book sales*, or—to take a chance example—with such evidence of the intellectual resources of a country town as is contained in *A catalogue of books in the Library at Bedford, the foundation whereof was laid in the year 1700, by the contributions of the clergy and gentry* (London, 1706). That there was an enormous increase in the number of habitual readers between 1700 and 1800 is of course indubitable. Statistics of the growth of periodicals and newspapers—a type of evidence neglected by Collins—put the matter beyond debate (see the "Chronological index" in Crane and Kaye, *A census of British newspapers and periodicals, 1620-1800*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1927). The point is that the level of development reached by 1700 was much higher than Macaulay or Collins would have us suppose.

Collins, A. S. "Patronage in the days of Johnson." *Nineteenth century*, C (1926), 608-22.

An interesting sketch of the decline of patronage in the eighteenth century, with illustrative details from the careers of Pope, Young, Thomson, Gay, and Johnson. The main points, however, are not new and the basis of fact is rather narrow.

Collins, A. S. "Some aspects of copyright from 1700 to 1780." *Library*, 4th series, VII (1926), 67-81.

A brief analysis of the controversy over perpetual copyright in its bearing upon (1) the relations of "the Trade" to other booksellers, (2) the income of authors, and (3) the growth of the reading public. No account is taken

of earlier treatments of the subject; for example, the article of J. W. Draper in *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 146-54.

Colman, Francis. "Opera register, 1712-34." *The mask*, XII (1926), 110-14.

Cox, Harold. "England's treasure by trade." *Edinburgh review*, CCXLIH (1926), 385-401.

The first few pages deal with seventeenth-century ideas about commerce.

C[rane], R. S. [Review of J. G. Robertson, *Studies in the genesis of romantic theory in the eighteenth century*, Cambridge, 1923.] *MP*, XXIII (1926), 361-63.

Crawford, Bartholow V. "Questions and objections." *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 110-25.

Various forms of this device in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Creighton, J. E. "Eighteenth and nineteenth century modes of thought." *Philosophical review*, XXXV (1926), 1-21.

Somewhat stale generalities.

Doughty, Oswald. "The English malady of the eighteenth century." *RES*, II (1926), 257-69.

A collection of passages from writers of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dealing with the "Spleen." As such the article will be useful, but unfortunately it does even less to satisfy our curiosity concerning the significance of the phenomena with which it deals than the mediocre dissertation of F. Kalkühler, *Die Natur des Spleens bei den englischen Schriftstellern in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1920), which is not mentioned.

Flood, W. H. Grattan. "Early Shakespearean representations in Dublin." *RES*, II (1926), 92-95.

A list of performances extending from 1662 to 1738.

Folkierski, W. *Entre le classicisme et le romantisme: étude sur l'esthétique et les esthéticiens du XVIII^e siècle*. Cracow: Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres; Paris: Champion, 1925.

Rev. by F. Baldensperger in *ELC*, VI (1926), 368-71; by S. Etienne in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, V (1926), 583-85; by Abel Lefranc in *RH*, CLIII (1926), 267-68; by J. G. Robertson in *Litteris*, III (1926), 182-84.

This book, which arrived too late to be noticed in the bibliography for 1925, is the work of a professor in the University of Cracow who has also published, in Polish, studies on the aesthetics of Shaftesbury and on the relations between Shaftesbury and Diderot. The specific subject with which it deals is thus defined in the preface: "Le classicisme du grand siècle finissait que le romantisme, même dans son germe, n'était pas né. Entre les deux se trouve une distance ne présentant rien qui puisse ressortir en relief entre les noms éclatants de romantisme et classicisme, ne portant donc point d'appellation historique. Cet intervalle est rempli par la pensée propre du XVIII^e siècle; c'est à celle-ci que nous consacrons cette étude. . . ." The exposition falls into three parts. In the first and longest of these (pp. 5-352), Folkierski attempts to characterize the thought of the eighteenth century before 1770

on such problems as the nature of taste, the definition of the beautiful, the meaning of "imitation of nature," the authority of the ancients and the rules, the relations of poetry and painting, and the theory of literary genres. In the second part (pp. 355-516) he studies the contribution of Diderot to the discussion of these same problems, and in the third part (pp. 519-78), that of Lessing.

It is evident that Folkierski has chosen a subject of the highest interest—a subject, moreover, on which little serious writing of a synthetic sort has hitherto been done. And there can be no doubt that on many point his enquiry has resulted in valuable additions to our knowledge. His chapters on Diderot are particularly fresh; they constitute, in fact, the first comprehensive study of the aesthetic doctrine of that writer. Much of what he has to say, too, about Burke, about Jonathan Richardson, about Condillac, is both penetrating and new. Nor is it the least of his merits that he has approached more closely than any of his predecessors to a conception of his subject in terms of "*littérature générale*." He has unduly neglected Italian criticism, it is true, and his chapters on the theory of poetry and drama are perhaps too exclusively French in their emphasis; but in the main he has succeeded in exhibiting the movement of aesthetic thought in the eighteenth century in its true perspective as an essentially European phenomenon.

This is of course all to the good. Unfortunately the shortcomings of the book—shortcomings both in method and in substance—greatly outweigh its merits, considerable as these no doubt are. I shall not dwell upon the heavy and diffuse style nor upon the distressingly bad proofreading which appears in nearly all the quotations from English writers. The really serious defects of the work lie deeper than this. Consider, in the first place, the choice of writers for analysis. Those chosen are all, doubtless, worthy of inclusion; the trouble is that there are too few of them: it is obviously impossible to give a just idea of the "*pensée générale du siècle*"—and that not in one country merely but in all Europe—on the basis of a study of no more than twenty-one authors. Some of the omissions are rather startling. To mention only English examples, there is not a word about Pope, except as a poet, not a word about Young, not a word about Reynolds, not a word about Johnson, though all of these writers had important things to say concerning the critical problems with which the book attempts to deal. The result of this limitation of the study to a few individuals is that the reader is inevitably given a misleading impression of their importance in the general development; a false illusion of uniqueness comes to attach to the writers selected, and doctrines which were in reality the common property of a generation end by being identified with a Shaftesbury or a Richardson.

Nor is this the most serious weakness of the book. An even more fundamental defect is Folkierski's almost total indifference to "background." Apart from passing allusions to Aristotle, to Horace, to Boileau, and to a few other individual critics, the past history of the doctrines he discusses remains entirely outside his picture. One could never gather, for example, from his treatment of the concept of "*la belle nature*" (I, iii) or of the question of the rules (I, iv) that there lay back of the eighteenth century an immense body of reflection on both of these points that must be mastered in detail and at first hand before it is possible to say anything significant about the contribution of the eighteenth century itself. The principle of course is elementary, but Folkierski's systematic neglect of it leads to really serious consequences. So also does his failure to recognize the importance, for the history of aesthetic ideas, of the development of thought in other fields. Over and over again he discusses theories of literature or of art that would take on new meaning if brought into relation with current or earlier psychological doctrines (the "anti-rationalism" of Dubos [p. 41] is a case in point) or with conceptions prevalent in science or in law (see I, iv, *passim*); but not once, so far as I recall, does he make the requisite connection. As a consequence of this indifference to background—in the twofold sense of the past of aesthetic theory and of the general "climate of opinion"—his conclusions

often involve a serious deformation of perspective. An instance is his treatment of Shaftesbury, to whom, following the example of certain recent German historians, he attributes a peculiarly important rôle in the evolution of eighteenth-century aesthetic ideas. The question is too large to permit of discussion here; I can only say that the texts which he quotes in the course of his study (see, for example, pp. 102-05) seem to me to contain no doctrines to which the most self-conscious and convinced of neo-classicists—a Pope, a Dennis, a Johnson—could possibly have taken exception. Folkierski has erred, in short, here as throughout, by applying a purely descriptive or analytical method to a subject which can be studied fruitfully only from a historical-genetic point of view.

Graham, Walter. *The beginnings of English literary periodicals: a study of periodical literature, 1665-1715*. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926.

Rev. by R. S. C[rane] in *MP*, XXIV (1926), 245-47; by R. P. McCutcheon in *MLN*, XLII (1927), 126; in *TLS*, Oct. 14, 1926, p. 687.

Haferkorn, Reinhard. *Gotik und Ruine in der englischen Dichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1924.

Rev. by H. Flasdieck in *ES*, LXI (1926), 95-97; by G. Hübener in *Beiblatt*, XXXVII (1926), 74-76.

Hemdbdt, P. H. "The influence of early science on formative English." *Journal of chemical education*, III (1926), 1051-57.

The familiar story of the stylistic innovations of the Royal Society. Negligible.

Hesselgrave, Ruth A. *Lady Miller and the Batheaston circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.

Hughes, Helen Sard. "The middle-class reader and the English novel." *JEGP*, XXV (1926), 362-78.

An interesting brief discussion of the relation between the improved status of the middle class in the eighteenth century and the growth of the realistic novel. The texts which Miss Hughes brings together in illustration of the rising prestige of the commercial classes could easily have been added to from other sources (e.g., Defoe's *Review*), but they are perhaps sufficient for her purpose, and some of them—notably the quotations from the successive editions of Chamberlayne's *Magna Britanniae notitia* (pp. 366-67)—are highly suggestive.

Janney, F. Lamar. *Childhood in English non-dramatic literature, from 1557 to 1798*. Greifswald: Abel, 1925.

Kaufman, Paul. "Heralds of original genius." *Essays in memory of Barrett Wendell, by his assistants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), pp. 191-217.

✓ This paper contains a well written and suggestive study of the genealogy of the concept of "original genius" and a brief account of the principal expressions of the idea in English literature from Young to Blake. The subject is an exceedingly complex one, and though Kaufman has exhibited some of its essential aspects—for example, the rôle of seventeenth-century theories of the humours and of the "ruling passion" in intensifying the feeling for individuality—he has left out of account, no doubt because of lack of space, a number of other aspects which seem to me equally important. One of these is the religious factor suggested by Young in the sentence quoted by Kaufman as a motto: "With regard to the moral world, conscience—with regard to

the intellectual world, genius—is that god within.” Another aspect, also hinted at in the *Conjectures* (see Morley ed., pp. 12, 31, 33), is the Baconian and Cartesian rejection of authority, with its basic assumption of a nature whose laws had not all been discovered by the ancients; that this idea, carried over into literary criticism by such writers as Gildon (in his first phase) and Blackmore, had an important effect in preparing the eighteenth-century insistence upon originality is, I believe, indubitable. Influential also, no doubt, was the growth of the historico-relativist point of view, which, by undermining the rationalistic doctrine that the rules had their basis outside the individual poet in the “invariable constitution of things,” made it possible to regard the great writer as creative in a new sense. A few statements in the paper call for particular comment. Kaufman (Section II) exaggerates, I think, the novelty of the idea of the “ruling passion” at the beginning of the eighteenth century; it had been familiar in French psychological discussions, many of which were known in England, for over a generation. He also errs in saying that “after Addison’s pioneer and unquestionably influential defence of the superiority of genius and originality [*Spectator*, No. 160], nothing comparable in extent or emphasis appears for nearly half a century.” If space permitted, a fairly long series of texts could be cited (from Saint-Evremond, Le Clerc, Blackmore, Welsted, Blackwell, Melmoth, and others) in which, before 1759, imitation of models is denounced and originality exalted with a definiteness of conviction and a vigor of expression equalled only by Young.

Lamprecht, Sterling P. “Innate ideas in the Cambridge Platonists.” *Philosophical review*, XXXV (1926), 553-73.

A useful and suggestive article. The importance of the doctrine of innate ideas in the Cambridge Platonists is clearly established on the basis of numerous well selected texts, and an interesting attempt is made to indicate a background for the doctrine in the efforts of the group to find a rationalistic *via media* between Anglican authoritarianism on the one hand and Puritan insistence upon the corruption of human powers and the necessity of divine inspiration through the Scriptures on the other. To an amateur in such matters it would seem that more might have been done to make clear the relation of the doctrine of innate ideas as it appears in the Cambridge Platonists to earlier thought. Descartes is of course mentioned, but, beyond the briefest allusion to Grotius and Herbert of Cherbury, there is no suggestion of any other possible antecedents. Reference might at least have been made to Etienne Gilson’s study, “L’innéisme cartésien et la théologie,” in his *Etudes de philosophie médiévale* (Strasbourg, 1921), pp. 146-90.

Loria, G. “Il periodo di storia delle scienze dalla morte di Galileo a Newton. Parte II^a: Da Bacon all’alba del XVIII secolo.” *Scientia*, XL (1926), 205-16.

Lynch, Kathleen M. *The social mode of Restoration comedy*. New York: Macmillan, 1926.

A well written and interesting attempt to trace the gradual formation of the social attitude characteristic of Restoration comedy from Fletcher to Congreve.

Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler. *Italian landscape in eighteenth century England*. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 349.

Rev. by H. Flasdieck in *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XLVII (1926), 353-54; by R. P. McCutcheon in *South Atlantic quarterly*, XXV (1926), 324-25; by Clarissa Rinaker in *JEGP*, XXV (1926), 277-81.

Manwaring, G. E. "Journalism in the days of the Commonwealth." *Edinburgh review*, CCXLIII (1926), 105-20.

Mainly concerned with John Dillingham, editor of the *Moderate intelligencer* and other news-books.

Moore, C. A. "*Midnights meditations* (1646): a bibliographical puzzle." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 220-26.

On a seventeenth-century precursor of Young's *Night thoughts*.

Moore, C. A. "Whig panegyric verse, 1700-1760: a phase of sentimentalism." *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 362-401.

After studying in two well known articles the rôle of philosophical influences in the genesis of English sentimentalism, Moore deals in this paper with the effect of the political movement, especially the triumph of Whiggism, in inspiring poets to expressions of humanitarian feeling. The result is a fresh approach to a movement which we have tended hitherto to consider exclusively from a literary or ideological point of view. Moore shows very clearly on the basis of a characteristically solid documentation how certain features of the Whig program, notably the promotion of overseas trade and the effort to protect the English woolen industry, were seized upon by poets like Young, Thomson, Savage, Shenstone, Dyer, and others, and rationalized in terms of "universal benevolence" and sympathy with the lot of the poor. It is the obverse of the picture drawn by R. H. Tawney in his recent *Religion and the rise of capitalism*—an example of historical "compensation" which is not unamusing to contemplate. The article also contains valuable discussions of the theme of liberty in early eighteenth-century poetry, of the attitude of the sentimental poets to the slave trade, and of the part played by literary men in promoting the Spanish war of 1738. Altogether a very interesting and important study.

Muddiman, J. G. "Robert Yard, third editor of the *London gazette*." *TLS*, Mar. 11, 1926, p. 182.

The Oxford book of eighteenth century verse. Chosen by David Nichol Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Platt, Joan. "The development of English colloquial idiom during the eighteenth century." *RES*, II (1926), 70-81, 189-96.

Poems on several occasions written in the eighteenth century. Edited by Kathleen W. Campbell. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1926. ("Percy reprints," No. 9.)

Pons, E. "Le 'voyage' genre littéraire au XVIII^e siècle." *Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*, IV (1926), 97-101, 144-49, 201-07.

Useful outlines and bibliographies addressed to students preparing for the "Agrégation d'Anglais." The topics treated are (1) "Voyages imaginaires," including a brief general survey of the subject and more detailed remarks on *Gulliver's travels* and *Robinson Crusoe*, and (2) "Récits authentiques de voyages."

Powicke, F. J. *The Cambridge Platonists*. London: J. M. Dent, 1926.

Prinsen, J. *De Roman in de 18^e eeuw in West-Europa*. Groningen: Wolters, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 351.

Rev. by J. G. Robertson in *MLR*, XXI (1926), 89-90; by P. Van Tieghem in *RLC*, VI (1926), 709-13.

Randall, John Herman, Jr. *The making of the modern mind: a survey of the intellectual background of the present age*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926.

Rev. by F. A. Christie in *AHR*, XXXII (1926), 79-81.

A survey, intended primarily for general readers, of the intellectual history of the Western World from the thirteenth century to the present day. Portions of Book II—especially the chapters on the beginnings of modern science—the whole of Book III (“The order of nature—the development of thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries”), and the first chapter of Book IV (“The romantic protest against the age of reason”) can be used with advantage in introducing students to the intellectual background of eighteenth-century literature.

Schücking, L. L. “Die Familie als Geschmacksträger in England im 18. Jahrhundert.” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, IV (1926), 439-58.

Schücking, L. L. “Literatur und Familie zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts in England.” *Probleme der englischen Sprache und Kultur: Festschrift Johannes Hoops* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 184-94.

Seventeenth century essays from Bacon to Clarendon. Selected and edited with an introduction by Jacob Zeitlin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, [1926].

Useful selections from nineteen essayists, with an excellent introduction. A similar collection for the remainder of the century would be welcome.

Snow, A. J. *Matter & gravity in Newton's physical philosophy: a study in the natural philosophy of Newton's time*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 25, 1926, p. 836.

The historian of ideas in eighteenth-century literature will be mainly interested in the fresh light which Snow casts on the efforts of such thinkers as More, Boyle, Clarke, and especially Newton, to offset the mechanistic conception of the world developed by Descartes (see pp. 55, 63, 79-82, 165-68, 169-210, 226-28).

Spencer, Hazelton. “Improving Shakespeare: some bibliographical notes on the Restoration adaptations.” *PMLA*, XLI (1926), 727-46.

Spencer, Hazelton. “The Blackfriars mystery.” *SP*, XXIV (1926), 173-80.

Sprague, Arthur Colby. *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration stage*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926.

In the first part of this volume the author traces the stage history of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays from 1660 to the death of Betterton in 1710; in the second part he discusses with fair detail twenty adaptations or alterations of the plays during the same period. There are two short appendices, in which Sprague questions the composition of “an opera called *The Mad*

Lover," and gives us reason to believe that the oft-mentioned alteration of *The Beggars Bush* by H. N. in 1705 was nothing more than a reprint of the text of the First Folio. He does not discuss the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Restoration drama or the minor borrowings. Within the limits set, the volume is highly satisfactory.—B. M.

Stokoe, F. W. *German influences in the English romantic period, 1788-1818*. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, July 29, 1926, p. 508.

Turner, F. Mc D. C. *The element of irony in English literature*. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

Rev. by J. Douady in *RC*, LX (1926), 358; in *N & Q*, CL (1926), 287-88; in *TLS*, Mar. 18, 1926, p. 207.

Van Tieghem, P. "La sensibilité et la passion dans le roman européen au XVIII^e siècle." *RLC*, VI (1926), 424-35.

The introductory lecture of a course on this subject given at Paris during the year 1925-26.

Waterhouse, Francis A. "Romantic 'originality.'" *Sewanee review*, XXXIV (1926), 40-49.

Second-hand Irving Babbitt.

Westerfrölke, Hermann. *Englische Kaffeehäuser als Sammelpunkte der literarischen Welt im Zeitalter von Dryden und Addison*. Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, [1926].

Rev. by B. Fehr in *Beiblatt*, XXXVII (1926), 354-55; by H. Lüdeke in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Dec. 18, 1926, cols. 2522-23.

Williams, Iolo A. [Miscellaneous notes on eighteenth-century poetry.] *LM*, XIII (1926), 418-19, 528; XIV (1926), 72-73, 521, 635-36; XV (1926), 79, 184-85.

Wood, Paul Spencer. "Native elements in English neo-classicism." *MP*, XXIV (1926), 201-08.

✓ An interesting brief study of the affinities between the literary spirit of the Restoration, particularly as regards its exaltation of restraint, decorum, and tradition, and the political, religious, and social ideals of the period. A good selection of illustrative texts.

Zilsel, E. *Die Entstehung des Geniebegriffes: ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Antike und des Frühkapitalismus*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926.

Rev. in *Archiv*, CL (1926), 271; in *RLC*, VI (1926), 542-43.

III. STUDIES RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

Joseph Addison

McCutcheon, Roger P. "Another burlesque of Addison's ballad criticism." *SP*, XXIII (1926), 451-56.

Reprints a humorous essay on the *Dragon of Wantley* from *Mist's Weekly journal* for Sept. 2, 1721.

S[herburn], G[eorge]. [Note on the contents of *Miscellaneous works in verse and prose of the late Right Honourable Joseph Addison*, London, 1726.] *MP*, XXIII (1926), 361.

Mark Akenside

Potter, George Reuben. "Mark Akenside, prophet of evolution." *MP*, XXIV (1926), 55-64.

An intelligent and clearly written study, furnishing interesting sidelights on eighteenth-century science and philosophy. Perhaps, however, Akenside is made to seem too exceptional. There were evolutionists before Akenside. Charles Blount, for instance, notes that "Some Authors are of an opinion, that Man is nothing but an Ape cultivated . . ." (*Anima mundi* [1679], p. 45, in *Miscellaneous works*, 1695). Cf. also Cardano, *De rerum varietate*, bk. 7, ch. 26, and Vanini, *De admirandis naturæ . . . arcanis*, dialogue 37, ed. Paris, 1616, pp. 233-34. Compared with Akenside's, however, these conceptions are mere adumbrations.—F. B. K.

John Aubrey

"John Aubrey (born March 12, 1626-died June, 1697)." *TLS*, Mar. 11, 1926, pp. 169-70.

Richard Baxter

"The Reverend Richard Baxter's last treatise [*The poor husband-man's advocate to rich racking landlords*, 1691]." Edited by Frederick J. Powicke, with an introduction by George Unwin. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, X (1926), 163-218.

William Beckford

Grimsditch, Herbert B. "William Beckford's minor works." *LM*, XIV (1926), 599-605.

George Berkeley

Dunlop, Robert. "Bishop Berkeley on Ireland." *Contemporary review*, CXXIX (1926), 763-71.

Metz, Rudolf. "Berkeley's philosophisches Tagebuch." *Kant-Studien*, XXXI (1926), 344-51.

Metz, Rudolf. "Berkeley und Hume. Erster Teil: Berkeley." *Literarische Berichte aus dem Gebiete der Philosophie* (Erfurt: Kurt Stenger, 1926), pp. 35-46.

Meyerstein, E. H. W. "The first London edition of 'The Querist.'" *TLS*, May 20, 1926, p. 339.

Isaac Bickerstaff

Macmillan, Ethel. "The plays of Isaac Bickerstaff in America." *PQ*, V (1926), 58-69.

Thomas Blackwell

Whitney, Lois. "Thomas Blackwell, a disciple of Shaftesbury." *PQ*, V (1926), 196-211.

An excellent brief article. In her careful discrimination of the contradictory elements in the thought of both Blackwell and Shaftesbury, Miss Whitney has made one of the first really intelligent contributions to the study of primitivistic ideas in eighteenth-century English literature. I am not sure that she does not exaggerate somewhat the completeness of Blackwell's discipleship, and it may be that she takes for granted too readily the primitivistic implication of certain of Shaftesbury's statements (e.g., pp. 208-09). But on the whole her method is admirable.

William Blake

The Prophetic writings of William Blake. Edited with a general introduction, glossarial index of symbols, commentary, and appendices, by D. J. Sloss and J. P. R. Wallis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 2 vols.

Rev. by P. Berger in *RAA*, IV (1926), 66-68; by S. Foster Damon in *SRL*, Dec. 4, 1926, pp. 357-58; in *TLS*, July 22, 1926, p. 493.

Ba-Han, Maung. *The evolution of Blakean philosophy*. Freiburg i. B., [1926].

A Freiburg dissertation.

Berger, Pierre. "L'état actuel des études sur Blake d'après quelques livres récents." *RAA*, IV (1926), 55-70.

A useful and interesting summary.

Bruce, Harold L. "William Blake and Gilchrist's remarkable coterie of advanced thinkers." *MP*, XXIII (1926), 285-92.

Burdett, Osbert. *William Blake*. London: Macmillan, 1926. ("English men of letters.")

Rev. by S. Foster Damon, in *SRL*, Dec. 4, 1926, pp. 357-58; in *TLS*, Nov. 11, 1926, p. 791.

Fehr, Bernhard. [Notes on recent Blake literature.] *Beiblatt*, XXXVII (1926), 321-32.

Deals particularly with Keynes's edition of the *Writings of William Blake* (1925) and with Maung Ba-Han's *William Blake: his mysticism* (1924), but discusses incidentally a number of other recent publications. A valuable review by a student of Blake whose opinions are always suggestive.

Perugini, Mark E. "Blake's Prophetic books." *TLS*, July 29, 1926, p. 512.

An interesting letter, calling attention to some curious parallels between Blake's early prophetic books and passages in the *Conjuror's magazine* (1791-94) and in Francis Barrett's *Magus* (1801), and urging a systematic exploration of the "occult" publications of the period for further light on Blake's ideas and symbols.

Pierce, Frederick E. "Two notes on Blake." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 169-70.

Plowman, Max. "Blake drawings." *TLS*, Apr. 1, 1926, p. 249.

Comment by J. P. R. Wallis, *ibid.*, May 27, 1926, p. 355.

Plowman, Max. "Blake's 'Infant sorrow.'" *TLS*, Nov. 18, 1926, p. 819.

Povey, K. "Blake's 'Heads of the poets.'" *N&Q*, CLI (1926), 57-58.

Wallis, J. P. R. "Blake's 'Milton.'" *TLS*, Mar. 11, 1926, p. 182.

Winslow, Ola Elizabeth. "William Blake and the century test." *South Atlantic quarterly*, XXV (1926), 25-44.

Largely concerned with Blake's relations to eighteenth-century thought. Little that had not already been said by Berger or Damon.

James Boswell

The Hypochondriack. Edited by Margery Bailey. Stanford University, 1926.

Chapman, R. W. "Boswell's proof-sheets." *LM*, XV (1926), 50-58, 171-80.

An interesting article, based on a collection of revises and re-revises of the first edition of the *Life of Johnson* belonging to Mr. R. B. Adam of Buffalo.

William Lisle Bowles

A Wiltshire parson and his friends: the correspondence of William Lisle Bowles. Edited by Garland Greever. London: Constable; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Sept. 23, 1926, p. 629.

Contains, besides the correspondence of Bowles, two unpublished letters and four hitherto unidentified reviews by Coleridge.

Robert Boyle

Davis, Tenney L. "The first edition of the *Sceptical chymist*." *Isis*, VIII (1926), 71-76.

Henry Brooke

C[hapman], R. W. "Brooke's *Gustavus Vasa*." *RES*, II (1926), 99.

A postscript to his note in *RES*, I (1925), 460.

Sir Thomas Browne

Dunn, William P. *Sir Thomas Browne: a study in religious philosophy*. Menasha, Wis.: George Banta, 1926.

This study, a Columbia doctor's thesis, attempts "to explain some of the philosophical conceptions of [Browne's] books, to trace their historic antecedents, to set them against the background of contemporary modes of thought, and on such basis to give Browne his proper place in English philosophy of the seventeenth century" (p. 32). It is concerned particularly with those aspects of Browne's thought which have a religious significance—with his treatment of the problem of faith and reason (ch. II), with his "philosophy of nature" (ch. III), and with his speculations on the soul, death, and immortality (ch. IV). The great merit of the book—a merit almost startling in an American doctoral dissertation—is its fine literary sense. Dunn never allows us to forget the poetic quality of Browne's thought; he is constantly alive to

its subtly shifting shades of implication; and he gives us as a result many pages which are models of delicate and sympathetic interpretation. Such passages as his commentary on Sections XIV-XVIII of the *Religio medici* (pp. 90-103) or his analysis of the Puritan and Stoic elements in Browne's feeling about death (pp. 165-75) are extremely able bits of writing, as good as anything in the previous literature of the subject from Pater to Sir Edmund Gosse or Lytton Strachey.

The defects of the book are to some extent the consequence of these merits. Thus Dunn's concern for the nuance results occasionally in a blurring of the larger point, as, for example, in his discussion of "philosophical skepticism" (pp. 155-58). Again, his very commendable desire to make things easy for the reader leads frequently to an unfortunate concealment of the foundation of fact upon which his historical interpretations are built. Sometimes, indeed, one suspects that the foundation is not as solid as it should be: certain of his allusions to the scholastics, in particular, suggest the disquieting thought that his command of the original texts and of the best modern scholarship on the subject is less extensive than we have a right to expect. In any case, we should be grateful for more precise references; discreetly relegated to the footnotes, these would have subtracted nothing from the charm and ease of the exposition, and they would have added immensely to the usefulness of a very interesting book.

James Buchanan

Kennedy, Arthur G. "Authorship of *The British grammar*." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 388-91.

Ascription to Buchanan.

John Bunyan

Hodgson, J. E. "Bunyan's 'Book for boys and girls.'" *TLS*, Nov. 4, 1926, p. 770.

Greg, W. W. "The 'issues' of 'The pilgrim's progress.'" *TLS*, Aug. 19, 1926, p. 549.

Valuable remarks on bibliographical method.

Edmund Burke

Cobban, A. B. C. "Edmund Burke and the origins of the theory of nationality." *Cambridge historical journal*, II (1926), 36-47.

O'Brien, William. *Edmund Burke as an Irishman*. Second edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1926.

First published in 1924.

Fanny Burney

Fanny Burney and the Burneys. Edited by R. Brimley Johnson. London: Stanley Paul, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 25, 1926, p. 840.

Robert Burns

Miller, Frank. "The original of Burns's song, 'The battle of Sherra-Moor.'" *Scottish historical review*, XXIII (1926), 158-59.

Shows that the song was in circulation as early as 1745.

Joseph Butler

Taylor, A. E. "Some features of Butler's ethics." *Mind*, XXXV (1926), 273-300.

Townsend, H. G. "The synthetic principle in Butler's ethics." *International journal of ethics*, XXXVII (1926), 81-87.

George Campbell

Bryan, W. F. "A late eighteenth-century purist." *SP*, XXIII (1926), 358-70.

An interesting study of the rationalistic bias in Campbell's *Philosophy of rhetoric* (1776).

Thomas Chatterton

Meyerstein, E. H. W. "Wordsworth and Chatterton." *TLS*, Oct. 21, 1926, p. 722.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield

The Poetical works of Lord Chesterfield. London: Elkin Mathews & Marrot, 1926.

Baldensperger, F. [Review of R. Coxon, *Chesterfield and his critics*, London, 1925.] *Litteris*, III (1926), 241-43.

Charles Churchill

Beatty, Joseph M., Jr. "Mrs. Montagu, Churchill, and Miss Cheere." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 384-86.

William Collins

Williams, Iolo A. [Notes on the bibliography of *The passions*.] *LM*, XIII (1926), 644; XIV (1926), 293.

William Congreve

Lawrence, W. J. "A Congreve holograph." *RES*, II (1926), 345.
Evidence that Congreve was a holder of South Sea stock.

Abraham Cowley

The Mistress, with other select poems of Abraham Cowley, 1618-1667. Edited by John Sparrow. London: Nonesuch Press, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 18, 1926, pp. 805-06.

"Cowley's lyrics." *TLS*, Nov. 18, 1926, pp. 805-06.

A sympathetic and rather penetrating essay.

Nethercot, Arthur H. "Abraham Cowley's *Discourse concerning style*." *RES*, II (1926), 385-404.

The starting-point of this interesting paper is Sprat's statement that Cowley planned "to publish a discourse concerning style," but died without completing it. By bringing together the rather numerous remarks on poetry and style scattered through Cowley's published works, Nethercot attempts first to

reconstruct the probable content of this proposed essay, and then to "place" Cowley in the movement of seventeenth-century critical thought. The article illuminates helpfully a neglected side of Cowley's mind, and should prove useful to students of neo-classical literary theory.

William Cowper

Whiting, Mary Bradford. "'A burning bush': a new light on the relations between William Cowper and John Newton." *Hibbert journal*, XXIV (1926), 303-13.

Daniel Defoe

Lovett, Robert Morss. "Franklin and Defoe." *New republic*, Nov. 3, 1926, pp. 303-04.

Pompen, Fr. A. "Defoe en zijn bronnen." *Neophilologus*, XII (1926), 31-34.

Apropos of A. W. Secord's *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, Urbana, 1924.

Staverman, W. H. [Review of P. Dottin, *Daniel De Foe et ses romans*, Paris, 1924.] *English studies*, VIII (1926), 189-93.

Ullrich, Hermann. [Review of H. C. Hutchins, *Robinson Crusoe and its printing*, New York, 1925.] *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XLVII (1926), cols. 281-85.

White, A. S. "Defoe's military career." *TLS*, Jan. 28, 1926, p. 63.

Correction of an error in Dalton's *English army lists and commission registers*.

Sir John Denham

Banks, Theodore H., Jr. "Denham's supposed authorship of *Directions to a painter*, 1667." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 502-05.

Arguments, in the main fairly cogent, against Denham's authorship.

Banks, Theodore H., Jr. "Sir John Denham and *Paradise lost*." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 51-54.

Banks, Theodore H., Jr. "Sir John Denham's *Cooper's Hill*." *MLR*, XXI (1926), 269-77.

A useful presentation of the known facts about Denham's poem—its originality, its style, the history of its text, the celebrated apostrophe to the Thames, and the fame of the poem—with a few new details.

Stephen Duck

Davis, Rose Mary. *Stephen Duck, the threshers-poet*. Orono, Maine: University Press, 1926. ("University of Maine studies," 2nd series, No. 8.)

The mature and extensive documentation of this work is most unusual in dissertations submitted for the M.A. degree. The biography is carefully assembled and the literary criticism has the merit, rare in specialized studies, of not being too enthusiastic. In general, the source material is well chosen.

There may be some doubt if the article by Attenborough is on the whole wisely depended upon; and Lounsbury's *Text of Shakespeare* proves, as usual, a morass. Miss Davis tries to be rational about Pope, but Lounsbury is always breaking in—and the result is that what was merely politics in the attitude of Pope and Swift towards Queen Caroline's poet is at times ascribed to that natural malignity which the last century unjustly imputed to the satirists of the eighteenth century. Anyone must doubt if Duck would be indiscreetly sent to Pope without a note from the Queen. The privilege of consulting the original manuscripts of Alured Clarke's letters (Add. MSS 20,102) might have aided Miss Davis. The "undated" letter which she quotes on p. 46 is in the MS dated (at the end) "Oct. 6, 1730."

But this is unimportant. A more significant matter, the interpretation of which it seems possible to question is the true nature of the interest lords and wits felt in Stephen Duck in 1730. Was it sociological—an interest in proletarian bards, as Professor Draper assumes it to be in his Foreword? If so, why did Clarke and Spence hasten to efface all traces of the soil? Why did they train Duck according to "the Neo-classical formulae of the aristocracy"? The true key to the 1730 attitude towards Duck seems to lie not in the social ideas but in the literary criticism of the day. The quest was not for the peasant-poet but for the natural genius. Such a genius could not be surely detected in the educated classes; but in uneducated circles was found Stephen Duck—untrained, but with a true taste and a natural genius, "superior even to Mr. Pope"—potentially such a genius as Addison had described in *Spectator*, No. 160. Spence and Clarke believed in Duck, but they also believed in Addison's second type of great genius, that which was formed and trained. They show great interest in Duck's untrained creative processes; and yet, comically enough, when it becomes apparent that Duck is to go to court, their confidence wavers, and they make sure that he does some reading before appearing in the great world. For modern students the most amusing thing Miss Davis' book does is to throw light on the 1730 attitude toward natural genius—and on the irreducible minimum of reading which it was felt a natural genius should do before going to court.—G. S.

John Evelyn

Memoires for my grand-son. Transcribed and furnished with a preface and notes by Geoffrey Keynes. London: Nonesuch Press, 1926.

The *Memoires* were begun in 1704. They are notes of advice, run together. The passage recommending certain authors (pp. 38-50) is of interest to students of the history of ideas and taste. At the close is a section called "Promiscuous advices"—a short collection of maxims (also by Evelyn). The text seems careful.—F. B. K.

Segrè, Carlo. "L'Evelyn a Roma nel 1645." *Nuova antologia*, April, 1926, pp. 217-45.

Squire, W. Barclay. "Evelyn and music, 1650-1653." *TLS*, Oct. 14, 1926, p. 695.

Comment by J. W. Kirby, *ibid.*, Oct. 21, p. 722. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 360.

Henry Fielding

An Apology for the life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews. With an introduction by R. Brimley Johnson. The Golden Cockerel Press, 1926.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA*, IV (1926), 73.

This beautiful reprint, limited to 450 copies, is very welcome. It purports

to reproduce the second issue of the pamphlet (Nov., 1741) "with the original spelling, punctuation, capitals, and abbreviations," except for specified correction of misprints. This difficult attempt is creditably carried out, though in twenty-five pages examined nine small deviations from the second issue have been noted—see pp. 24, 27, 29(2), 33, 41(2), 45, and 47. The Introduction hardly does more than assemble facts about *Shamela* printed in standard works on Fielding, but they are usefully assembled. It would be interesting to argue the case of Fielding's authorship further by comparing the ideas of the author of *Shamela* with those of Fielding. The attitude towards Whitefield and "good works," for example, is exactly that seen in Fielding's novels.—G. S.

Blanchard, Frederic T. *Fielding the novelist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 360.

Rev. by Paul Dottin in *REL*, XLIII (1926), 450-55; by E. S. Noyes in *SRL*, Oct. 16, 1926, p. 198; in *TLS*, July 29, 1926, p. 509.

Digeon, A. *The novels of Fielding*. London: Routledge; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 360.

Rev. by F. T. Blanchard in *University of California chronicle*, XXVIII (1926), 105-07; by S. B. Liljegren in *Litteris*, III (1926), 103-04.

"Fielding's 'Charge to the jury,' 1745." *TLS*, Mar. 4, 1926, p. 168.

Radtke, Bruno. *Henry Fielding als Kritiker*. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1926.

A German dissertation. It is a painstaking collection of citations from Fielding organized on the principle of a dictionary rather than of a systematic exposition of ideas. No real attempt is made to get at Fielding's *basic* attitudes. The possibility of change or development in his opinions is not considered. The background furnished consists only of well-worn quotations from a few celebrated critics. Neo-classical terminology is not sufficiently understood—e.g., that frequently misinterpreted word "invention." The dissertation should, however, be of use to someone attempting a more philosophical analysis of Fielding's critical theories and pronouncements.—F. B. K.

John Gay

Poetical works. Edited by G. C. Faber. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Sherburn, George. "The fortunes and misfortunes of *Three hours after marriage*." *MP*, XXIV (1926), 91-109.

William Godwin

An Enquiry concerning political justice and its influence on general virtue and happiness. Edited and abridged by Raymond A. Preston. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. 2 vols. ("Political science classics.")

Rev. in *TLS*, Sept. 23, 1926, p. 628.

A reprint of the first edition (1793), with the omission—which the student of the general history of ideas will greatly deplore—of eleven chapters.

Brown, Ford K. *The life of William Godwin*. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1926.

Rev. by W. R. Dennes in *University of California chronicle*, XXVIII (1926),

460-62; by H. J. Laski in *SEL*, Oct. 16, 1926, p. 191; by R. A. Preston in the *Nation*, Sept. 15, 1926, p. 249; in *TLS*, Apr. 15, 1926, p. 273.

A narrative of Godwin's career based mainly on published and easily accessible sources. It contains little that is likely to interest the historian of ideas. The analysis of *Political justice* (ch. VI) is perfunctory, and the account of the reaction against Godwin (chs. XIV, XV) suffers from the author's failure to make sufficient use of previous studies, particularly those of Henri Roussin and B. S. Allen.

Oliver Goldsmith

Balderston, Katharine C. *A census of the manuscripts of Oliver Goldsmith*. New York: Brick Row Book Shop, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 24, 1927, p. 122.

Balderston, Katharine C. *The history & sources of Percy's memoir of Goldsmith*. Cambridge: University Press, 1926.

Rev. by Marguerite L. Rocher in *R&A*, IV (1926), 75; in *N & Q*, CL (1926), 395; in *TLS*, June 3, 1926, p. 371.

These two little books are examples of the careful biographical research which we have come to expect from the pupils of C. B. Tinker. Modest in their pretensions, thorough and precise in their method, they will help materially to lighten the task of the future biographer of Goldsmith. In her *Census* Miss Balderston has undertaken to discover and to describe every scrap, however insignificant, that remains in existence of Goldsmith's writing. The intelligent care with which she has pursued the enquiry appears on every page; and if the results in the way of new material seem somewhat disproportionate to the effort which the search must have cost, that is of course not her fault. Of the unpublished manuscripts which she has unearthed, nearly all are letters. She has succeeded in locating the autographs of all but fourteen of the forty-two letters now accessible in print, and in addition she has turned up eleven not hitherto known. (One of these, the first in her list, was printed in part by Sir Ernest Clarke in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical society*, XV [1920], 20—a fact which she does not note.) Her descriptions of the manuscripts are clear and full enough for all practical purposes; it is regrettable, however, that she did not see fit to give for the "receipts, agreements, bills, etc." and for the "literary manuscripts" the precise information regarding previous publication which she gives for the letters.

Her second book is a critical study of the first important biography of Goldsmith—the memoir undertaken by Percy shortly after Goldsmith's death and published in the *Miscellaneous works* of 1801. Of the long and very curious history of this document, Miss Balderston gives a competent and useful account, based in part upon unpublished materials. Her most valuable contribution, however, is her discussion of the sources out of which Percy and his collaborators constructed the memoir. It is an excellent piece of work, and the table of sources which she prints on pages 52-61 will be welcomed by all students of Goldsmith. She has had the good fortune to have access to the manuscripts of Percy now in the possession of his descendant, Miss Constance Meade, of London. From this important collection she prints for the first time *in extenso* (pp. 12-17) the memorandum which Goldsmith dictated to Percy on April 28, 1773, and which Percy used in the preparation of his biography. Other documents from this same collection, including the narrative of Mrs. Hodson, will appear in her forthcoming edition of Goldsmith's letters.

Brown, Joseph E. "Goldsmith's indebtedness to Voltaire and Justus Van Effen." *MP*, XXIII (1926), 273-84.

Further evidence of plagiarism, especially in the *Bee* and the *Citizen of the world*.

Milner-Barry, Alda. "A note on the early literary relations of Oliver Goldsmith and Thomas Percy." *RES*, II (1926), 51-61.

The main points of this article are (1) that the beginnings of Goldsmith's interest in China coincided with his meeting in February, 1759, with Percy, who was then in London trying to find a publisher for his Chinese novel; (2) that this preoccupation of Percy's may have had some share in determining Goldsmith to adopt a Chinese medium for his letters in the *Public ledger*; and (3) that certain features of the *Chinese letters*, notably the use of Du Halde, may have been due to a reading of Percy's manuscript. The evidence offered for the last of these points is very meager, and the first can hardly be maintained in view of Goldsmith's letter to Robert Bryanton of August, 1758 (*Works*, ed. Gibbs, I, 437). That Percy's influence may have counted for something in the genesis of the *Citizen of the world* is, of course, more than possible, but it could scarcely have been more potent than that of d'Argens or of Voltaire, and in any case the problem hardly admits of definite solution. See below under *Thomas Percy*.

Smith, Hamilton Jewett. *Oliver Goldsmith's The citizen of the world: a study*. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Williams, Iolo A. [A cancel in Goldsmith's *Life of . . . Bolingbroke*.] *LM*, XIII (1926), 527.

Williams, Iolo A. [Continental editions and translations of the *Vicar of Wakefield*.] *LM*, XIV (1926), 193.

Richard Graves

The Spiritual Quixote: or, The summer's ramble of Mr. Geoffrey Wildgoose. A comic romance. With an introduction by Charles Whibley. London: Peter Davies, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 11, 1926, p. 789.

Hutton, W. H. "Richard Graves and Bath." *TLS*, Dec. 2, 1926, p. 888.

Reply by B. T. K. Smith, *ibid.*, Dec. 9, p. 913.

Thomas Gray

Beresford, John. "The poet Gray and the Rev. Henry Etough." *TLS*, July 22, 1926, pp. 495-96.

Roe, F. C. "Le voyage de Gray et Walpole en Italie." *RLC*, VI (1926), 189-206.

The first part of this article—a résumé of the experiences of Gray and Walpole in Italy, based upon their published correspondence—contains nothing that had not already been said with greater fullness and precision by such writers as Northup (*Studies in language and literature in celebration of the seventieth birthday of James Morgan Hart*, New York, 1910, pp. 390-439) and Yvon (*La vie d'un dilettante: Horace Walpole*, Paris, 1924, pp. 48-76). The second part—an attempt to define "les résultats tangibles de ce voyage"—is more interesting, but its main conclusions can hardly be said to be very new or, for that matter, entirely true. Certainly no one supposes nowadays that enthusiasm for mountains in English literature really dates from Walpole and Gray. "The greatest objects of Nature," Thomas Burnet had written in 1681, "are, methinks, the most pleasing to behold; . . . there is nothing

that I look upon with more pleasure than the wide sea and the Mountains of the Earth. There is something august and stately in the Air of these things, that inspires the Mind with great Thoughts and Passions; we do naturally, upon such occasions, think of God and his Greatness" (quoted by C. A. Moore in *SP*, XIV [1917], 252). Again, there is the "rhapsody" which another traveller in Italy, Shaftesbury, published in 1709—the striking passage in the *Moralists* beginning, "But behold! through a vast tract of sky before us, the mighty Atlas rears his lofty head covered with snow above the clouds" (*Characteristics*, ed. Robertson, II, 122-24). Did space permit, a fair number of other texts similar to these could be cited from the half-century before 1740; they would show beyond any doubt, I believe, that no such special historical importance attaches to the mountain descriptions of Gray and Walpole as Roe, following the earlier writers on English romanticism, seems to think. Stokes, Francis Griffin. "Gray's 'Elegy': the fourth edition."

TLS, Dec. 16, 1926, p. 935.

Toynbee, Paget. "Gray and the Regius Professorship: a misplaced letter." *TLS*, Oct. 14, 1926, p. 698.

Toynbee, Paget. "Gray's 'Proposal' as to the professorship of modern history." *TLS*, Mar. 4, 1926, p. 163.

Toynbee, Paget. "Some Gray notes." *TLS*, Aug. 26, 1926, p. 564. Comment by R. M. Robinson, *ibid.*, Sept. 2, p. 580.

Matthew Green

The Spleen and other poems. With a preface by Richardson King Wood. London: Cayme Press, 1926.

Rev. by I. A. Williams in the *Observer*, Aug. 22, 1926, p. 4.

Thomas Hobbes

Nicolson, Marjorie H. "Milton and Hobbes." *SP*, XXIII (1926), 405-33.

The thesis of this most interesting and important article is that in his doctrine of human nature, in his conception of the relation between God and the universe, and in his essentially intellectualistic idea of God, Milton showed marked affinities with such contemporary thinkers as More, Cumberland, Cudworth, and, in general, the whole group of "English Platonists"; that, like them, he is best interpreted as an opponent of Hobbes. Miss Nicolson leaves it somewhat uncertain how far she thinks Milton was conscious of this opposition (the positive evidence [see p. 413] is rather slight); apart from this, her interpretation seems to me entirely convincing, and besides to have the rare merit of placing a much studied writer in a new and illuminating perspective. It should be impossible henceforth to think of Milton after the Restoration merely as an isolated survival from an age that was past. On the contrary, by virtue of his mature philosophy, he stood in the closest relation to a current of thought that continued to gather force throughout the rest of the century and that, through its effect on such writers as Shaftesbury and Thomson, helped to determine some of the most interesting developments of the century that followed.

Thomas Holcroft

Benn, T. Vincent. "Holcroft en France." *RLC*, VI (1926), 331-27.

David Hume

Carlini, A. "L'attualismo scettico del trattato su la natura umana di D. Hume." *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, VII (1926), 104-28.

Laing, B. M. "Hume and the contemporary theory of instinct." *Monist*, XXXVI (1926), 645-66.

Samuel Johnson

"The Authority of Johnson." *TLS*, Sept. 2, 1926, pp. 569-70.

Brown, Joseph Epes. *The critical opinions of Samuel Johnson*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926.

Rev. by R. W. Chapman in *RES*, II (1926), 354-56; by R. S. C[rane] in *MP*, XXIII (1926), 497-98; by R. D. Havens in *MLN*, XLI (1926), 420-21; by F. A. Pottle in *Yale review*, XV (1926), 819.

C[hapman], R. W. "Dr. Johnson and Dr. Taylor." *RES*, II (1926), 338-39.

On Taylor's *Letter to Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. on the subject of a future state* (1787).

C[hapman], R. W. "Johnson's letters to Perkins." *RES*, II (1926), 97-98.

Chapman, R. W. "Johnson's letters to Taylor." *RES*, II (1926), 89-92, 466.

Chapman, R. W. "Johnson's *Plan of a dictionary*." *RES*, II (1926), 216-18.

Mainly concerned with the two states of sheet A.

Chapman, R. W. "Proposals for a new edition of Johnson's letters." *Essays and studies by members of the English Association*, XII (Oxford, 1926), 47-62.

Gissing, Algernon. "Appleby School: an extra-illustration to Boswell." *Cornhill magazine*, April, 1926, pp. 404-14.

Presents extracts from the Minute Book of Appleby School, June 11, 16, 1739.

MacKinnon, F. D. "Samuel Johnson, undergraduate." *Cornhill magazine*, October, 1926, pp. 444-58.

Powell, L. F. "Johnson and the *Encyclopédie*." *RES*, II (1926), 335-37.

Borrowings from Johnson's *Dictionary* in the article "Anglois."

Reade, Aleyn Lyell. "The duration of Johnson's residence at Oxford." *TLS*, Sept. 16, 1926, pp. 615-16.

Important.

Reade, Aleyn Lyell. "Johnson's ushership at Market Bosworth." *TLS*, June 10, 1926, p. 394.

Tinker, Chauncey Brewster. *The Wedgewood medallion of Samuel Johnson: a study in iconography*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Rev. in *SRL*, Jan. 8, 1927, p. 507.

Vicesimus Knox

Partridge, Eric. "Vicesimus Knox: his 'Essays moral and literary.'" *A critical medley*, Paris: Champion, 1926, pp. 39-54.

A rather pointless résumé of Knox's opinions, culminating in the pronouncement that "To Professor Saintsbury's stricture that Knox 'is but a Johnson without the genius,' we must subjoin the statement that he is a Johnson in earnestness and talent."

George Lillo

Benn, T. Vincent. "Notes sur la fortune du *George Barnwell* de Lillo en France." *RLC*, VI (1926), 682-87.

James Macpherson

Black, George F. "Macpherson's Ossian and the Ossianic controversy: a contribution towards a bibliography." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XXX (1926), 424-39, 508-24.

Important.

Christiansen, R. T. "Macphersons Ossian og folkedigtningen." *Edda*, XXV (1926), 161-209.

Bernard Mandeville

The Fable of the bees: or, private vices, publick benefits. Edited by F. B. Kaye. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 364-65.

Rev. by Hermann M. Flasdieck in *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XLVII (1926), cols. 354-55; by Denis Saurat in *Litteris*, III (1926), 78-80; by P. Van Tieghem in *ESH*, XLI (1926), 135-37.

Lamprecht, Sterling P. "*The Fable of the bees*." *Journal of philosophy*, XXIII (1926), 561-79.

William Mason

Satirical poems published anonymously by William Mason, with notes by Horace Walpole. Now first published from his manuscript. Edited with an exposé of the mystification, notes and index by Paget Toynbee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. by W. S. Lewis in *SRL*, Aug. 7, 1926, p. 24; in *TLS*, May 27, 1926, p. 352.

Draper, John W. *William Mason: a study in eighteenth-century culture*. New York: New York University Press, 1924. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 365.

Rev. by Odell Shepard in *JEGP*, XXV (1926), 99-102.

Milton: see *Hobbes*

Hannah More

Knox, E. V. "'Percy' (the tale of a dramatic success)." *LM*, XIII (1926), 509-15.

On Hannah More's tragedy (1777).

Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery

Clark, William S. "The Earl of Orrery's play *The Generall*." *RES*, II (1926), 459-60.

A supplement to his note in *RES*, II (1926), 206-11.

Clark, William S. "Further light upon the heroic plays of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery." *RES*, II (1926), 206-11.

Clark, William S. "The published but unacted 'heroic plays' of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery." *RES*, II (1926), 280-83.

Wagner, Bernard M. "Restoration heroic drama." *TLS*, Sept. 2, 1926, p. 580.

Thomas Otway

Ham, Roswell G. "Additional material for a life of Thomas Otway." *N & Q*, CL (1926), 75-77.

Ham, Roswell G. "New facts about Otway." *TLS*, Jan. 14, 1926, p. 28.

Ham, Roswell G. "Otway's duels with Churchill and Settle." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 73-80.

Samuel Pepys

Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703, in the possession of J. Pepys Cockerell. Edited by J. R. Tanner. London: Bell; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926. 2 vols.

Rev. by W. C. Abbott in *SRL*, July 10, 1926, p. 916; by A. B. in *History*, XI (1926), 280; by K. G. Feiling in *EHR*, XLI (1926), 448-49; by R. M. Lovett in the *New republic*, June 2, 1926, p. 64; in *TLS*, Jan. 28, 1926, p. 59. Correction by Paget Toynbee in *TLS*, Apr. 22, 1926, p. 303.

Samuel Pepys's naval minutes. Edited by J. R. Tanner. Clowes: for the Navy Record Society, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 4, 1926, p. 763.

Bensly, Edward. "Pepys's eyesight." *N & Q*, CL (1926), 49.

McCutcheon, Roger P. "Pepys in the newspapers of 1679-1680." *AHR*, XXXII (1926), 61-64.

Sidelights on the charges against Pepys of sending naval information to France.

Thomas Percy

Powell, L. F. "Hau Kiou Choaan." *RES*, II (1926), 446-55.

Inspired by Miss Milner-Barry's article on Goldsmith and Percy in *RES*,

II (1926), 51-61. The author gives a rather full account, from Percy's correspondence and diary, of the negotiations leading to the publication of *Hau Kiou Chooan*, and corrects some of Miss Milner-Barry's statements. His discussion (pp. 452-54) "of the nationality of the language from which the Wilkinson-Percy translation was made" carries the problem several steps nearer solution, but it leaves a number of important questions unanswered. Nothing is said, for instance, of the illustrations in the 1761 edition, which seem to indicate that Percy had access to a copy of the Chinese original. This and other problems relating to the novel are discussed in a forthcoming paper by one of my students, Mr. Shau Yi Chan.

Reeve, C. R. "Notes on Percy's *Reliques*." *TLS*, June 10, 1926, p. 394.

Supplementary notes by Alda Milner-Barry, *ibid.*, July 1, p. 448, and George Gordon, July 8, p. 464.

Hester Lynch Piozzi

M. "Piozzi on Boswell and Johnson." *Harvard Library notes*, No. 17, April, 1926, pp. 104-11.

Notes on annotated copies of the *Life of Johnson* and of the *Journal of a tour to the Hebrides* formerly belonging to Mrs. Piozzi and now in the Harvard Library.

Alexander Pope

Selected poems of Alexander Pope. Edited with an introduction by Louis I. Bredvold. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1926.

This volume of selections from Pope, though designed primarily for use in college classes, deserves to be mentioned here for the sake of the introductory essay on "The element of art in eighteenth century poetry." It is an admirable bit of writing, less courageous in its defence of eighteenth-century poetry than it would have been had it appeared ten years ago, but welcome none the less. The pages on the theory of poetic diction (pp. xvi-xvii) and on the Stoic and Platonic elements in neo-classicism (pp. xix-xxiv) are especially good. ✓

Case, Arthur E. "Pope and Mary Chandler." *RES*, II (1926), 343-44, 466.

Objections to the statement of Oswald Doughty (*RES*, I, 412) that Pope, in the *Essay on man*, borrowed from one of Mary Chandler's poems. Doughty's reply (II, 344-45) begs the question.

Ann Radcliffe

Wieten, A. A. S. *Mrs. Radcliffe—her relation towards romanticism*. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926.

James Ralph

Dibble, R. F. "James Ralph, Jack of all literary trades." *Nation*, Oct. 13, 1926, pp. 361-63.

Samuel Richardson

Price, Lawrence Marsden. "On the reception of Richardson in Germany." *JEGP*, XXV (1926), 7-33.

John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester

Collected works of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Edited by John Hayward. London: Nonesuch Press, 1926.

A welcome reprint of Rochester's poems, plays, and letters, with a biographical introduction and textual and explanatory notes. Unfortunately, the editor seems not to have taken the literary and historical part of his task very seriously. In his notes on the *Satyr against mankind*, for example, he not only has nothing to say about the place of that extraordinary poem in the thought of the time, but is content to repeat without verification Johnson's misleading statement concerning its relation to Boileau (p. 356). He would have done better had he quoted Rochester's first editor, Thomas Rymer, whose statement of the case in his preface to *Poems, (&c.) on several occasions* (1696) is much nearer the truth. See also Clark, *Boileau . . . in England* (Paris, 1925), pp. 7-8, 114-15.

Thomas Shadwell

Walmsley, D. M. "Shadwell and the operatic *Tempest*." *RES*, II (1926), 463-66.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury

Bandini, Luigi. "Morale e religione nello Shaftesbury." *Rivista di filosofia*, XVII (1926), 221-49.

Extract from a forthcoming book on *La dottrina morale di Shaftesbury*.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan

The Plays of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Edited with an introduction by Iolo A. Williams. London: Herbert Jenkins; New York: Dial Press, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 28, 1926, p. 741.

Panther, George W. "Early editions of Sheridan." *TLS*, Apr. 15, 1926, p. 283.

Rhodes, R. Crompton. "Sheridan apocrypha." *TLS*, Aug. 26, 1926, p. 564.

Rhodes, R. Crompton. "Sheridan bibliography." *TLS*, June 17, 1926, p. 414.

Thomas Sheridan

Flood, W. H. Grattan. "Thomas Sheridan's *Brave Irishman*." *RES*, II (1926), 346-47.

The date of the first performance (Feb. 21, 1736-7).

Christopher Smart

Gosse, Sir Edmund. "Christopher Smart." *TLS*, May 27, 1926, p. 355.

Comment by G. J. Gray, *ibid.*, July 1, p. 448.

Adam Smith

Bonar, J. "'The theory of moral sentiments,' by Adam Smith, 1759." *Journal of philosophical studies*, I (1926), 333-53.

Tobias Smollett

The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D. Collected and edited by Edward S. Noyes. Cambridge, [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Rev. in *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 377-78; in *TLS*, Dec. 9, 1926, p. 903.

This beautifully printed edition presents the texts of seventy-two of Smollett's letters. Of these, fifteen have never appeared in print before, and thirteen others are given in a more complete form than in any previous edition. Not much can be said for Smollett's letters considered as literature; as biographical records, however, their value is considerable, and Noyes has spared no pains to make it possible for the scholar to use them easily and intelligently. His notes are unusually full; a few of them offer information which he might possibly have taken for granted in his readers, but, on the other hand, he seldom evades difficulties, and he has usually been successful in finding satisfactory answers to the questions raised by his texts. Among the more interesting notes are those which discuss Smollett's relations to his cousins (pp. 114 and 118); they should be meditated by all who are tempted to supply the lack of trustworthy records concerning the lives of eighteenth-century novelists by extracting autobiographical meanings from their fictions.

Buck, Howard Swazey. *A study in Smollett, chiefly "Peregrine Pickle," with a complete collation of the first and second editions.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 369.

Rev. by A. Digeon in *RAA*, IV (1926), 73-74; in *N & Q*, CL (1926), 323-24; in *TLS*, Apr. 22, 1926, p. 299.

Melville, Lewis. *The life and letters of Tobias Smollett.* London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 9, 1926, p. 903.

Noyes, E. S. "A note on *Peregrine Pickle* and [Shaw's] *Pygmalion*." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 327-30.

William Somerville

Havens, Raymond D. "William Somerville's earliest poem." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 80-86.

On the *Wicker chair* (written between 1708 and 1710), an earlier version of *Hobbinol, or the rural games* (1740).

Laurence Sterne

Bensly, Edward. "Sterne and Lord Aboyne." *N & Q*, CL (1926), 65-66.

Cross, Wilbur L. *The life and times of Laurence Sterne.* A new edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. Cf. *PQ*, V (1926), 370.

Rev. by Edith Birkhead in *MLR*, XXI (1926), 322-24; by J. B. Priestley in *SKL*, Feb. 20, 1926, pp. 569-70.

Ollard, S. L. "Sterne as a young parish priest." *TLS*, Mar. 18, 1926, p. 217.

Ryan, M. J. "An edition of Sterne." *TLS*, Sept. 16, 1926, p. 616.

Sellers, H. "A Sterne problem." *TLS*, Oct. 21, 1926, p. 722.

Comment by C. Wanklyn, *ibid.*, Nov. 4, p. 770.

Turnbull, John M. "The prototype of Walter Shandy's *Tristrapædia*." *RES*, II (1926), 212-15.

Discloses extensive pilferings by Sterne from Obadiah Walker's *Of education especially of young gentlemen* (1673).

Jonathan Swift

Gulliver's travels. The text of the first edition, with an introduction, bibliography, and notes by Harold Williams. London: The First Edition Club, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 10, 1927, p. 88.

Bradley, L. J. H. "Swift's 'Directions to servants.'" *TLS*, Feb. 11, 1926, p. 99.

Digeon, Aurélien. "'Gulliver' et La Bruyère." *RAA*, III (1926), 245-47.

Argues that the passages on war in *Gulliver*, Parts II and IV, were indebted to a development on the same theme in the twelfth chapter of *Les caractères*. The correspondences are close enough to make the conclusion fairly probable.

Eddy, William A. "*The Anatomist dissected*—by Lemuel Gulliver." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 330-31.

A satire on the Royal Society in imitation of Swift.

Firth, Sir Charles H. "Dean Swift and ecclesiastical preferment." *RES*, II (1926), 1-17.

An important article.

Firth, Sir Charles H. "A story from *Gulliver's travels*." *RES*, II (1926), 340-41.

The source of the story of the Prime Minister's wife in *Gulliver*, III, ii.

"Gulliver's travels (October 28, 1726)." *TLS*, Oct. 28, 1926, pp. 729-30.

Mezger, F. "Swift's 'Gulliver's travels' und irische Sagen." *Archiv*, CLI (1926), 12-18.

Wedel, T. O. "On the philosophical background of *Gulliver's travels*." *SP*, XXIII (1926), 434-50.

This is an unusually interesting article—a storehouse of information and suggestion concerning the history of ideas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and it is written with genuine gusto. It seems to me, however, open to a fundamental objection: because of defective historical method the perspective is distorted. Wedel makes sharper distinctions than history does; and he plays rather dangerously with chronology, illustrating a postulated intellectual development by opinions uttered a generation later and a generation earlier (e.g., pp. 435 and 439, n. 18). More specifically:

(1) Wedel sees Swift as an almost lone opponent of the growing "optimism" of the time as regards the goodness of human nature. This is distortion. It is reading into the first quarter of the century the benevolism which was more common in the second and third quarters—mistaking tendency for

accomplishment. It involves also a misunderstanding of what "optimism" really was. Optimism did not hold that human nature was good; it argued that no matter how bad it might be, it did not contradict the grand, beneficent plan of God. When Pope wrote (*Essay on man*, I, 155-56),

If plagues or earthquakes break not heaven's design,
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

he was maintaining that Nature was perfect, not that Borgia or Catiline were. In other words, he was a cosmological, not a humanitarian optimist. Since, therefore, optimism was committed to no brief for the goodness of human nature (and was in fact a way of reconciliation to evil), optimism offers no such contrasting background to Swift as Wedel supposes. Wedel forgets, also, the mass of "Puritan" literature, such as Defoe sometimes turned out: Moll Flanders and Mrs. Veal were no apologists for human nature. It should be noted, too, that *Gulliver's travels* apparently had its inception in the Scriblerus Club, whose members held opinions in good part like Swift's.

(2) As a part of his thesis that Swift was philosophically an exceptional figure—a survival of an earlier unfavorable attitude towards human nature in the midst of a new favorable attitude—Wedel maintains that there was a sudden shift in opinion at about the turn of the century. I do not believe this was so. As indicated above, the derogatory opinions of human nature which Wedel associates with the "old" attitude persisted prominently after the postulated change; and the points of view which he identifies with the "new" attitude—rationalism, deism, optimism—were all commonplace long before the "change": the latter would have been familiar to Plato, Aquinas, and Milton. What happened was no sudden peripety, but a very gradual shifting of emphasis.

I am more than skeptical, too, of Wedel's interpretation of Descartes. And I doubt, finally, the wisdom of the moralistic close, summed up in the words that "Swift's view of man . . . is essentially the view of the classical and Christian tradition." As a matter of history, I question the unqualified implication that there was only one "classical and Christian" tradition; and as a matter both of history and of logic, I object to the begging of the question in assuming the identity of the two traditions.—F. B. K.

Williams, Harold. "The canon of Swift: a late addition." *RES*, II (1926), 322-28.

Arguments—not very cogent in themselves—in support of Scott's ascription of *Jack Frenchman's lamentation* (1708) to Swift.

Sir William Temple

Moore Smith, G. C. "Temple and Hammond families and the related families of Nowell and Knollys." *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 237-39.

Moore Smith, G. C. "Temple and Hammond families and the related family of Harrison." *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 452-53.

Genealogical details of no great interest.

James Thomson

Potter, G[eorge] R[euben]. "James Thomson and the evolution of spirits." *ES*, LXI (1926), 57-65.

An interesting and luminously written study. The article demonstrates incidentally that Thomson was not just a sensitive barometer of the intellectual atmosphere of his day, but consciously wrought out his own philosophy.—F. B. K.

Joseph Trapp

Herrick, Marvin T. "Joseph Trapp and the Aristotelian 'catharsis.'" *MLN*, XLI (1926), 158-63.

Elizabeth Vesey

The Library of Mrs. Elizabeth Vesey, 1715-1791, . . . with other literature of the eighteenth century. Newcastle-on-Tyne: William H. Robinson, 1926. Catalogue No. 14.

Horace Walpole

(See also *William Mason*)

Hieroglyphic tales. By Horace Walpole. London: Elkin Mathews and Marrot, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Dec. 9, 1926, p. 907.

A Selection of the letters of Horace Walpole. Edited by W. S. Lewis. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926.

Rev. by Percival Merrick in *SRL*, Jan. 1, 1927, p. 481.

Supplement to the letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford, together with upwards of 150 letters addressed to Walpole between 1735 and 1796. Chronologically arranged and edited with notes and indices by Paget Toynbee. Vol. III: 1744-1797. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. by R. R. S. in *EHR*, XLI (1926), 633; by Lytton Strachey in the *New republic*, June 16, 1926, pp. 110-12; by Paul Yvon in *R&A*, III (1926), 550-53; in *N & Q*, CL (1926), 233-34; in *SRL*, May 1, 1926, p. 759; in *TLS*, Feb. 18, 1926, p. 115.

C[hapman], R. W. [Note on the plates in Walpole's *Anecdotes of painting*.] *Bodleian quarterly record*, V (1926), 55-56.

Smith, Horatio E. "Horace Walpole anticipates Victor Hugo." *MLN*, XLI (1926), 458-61.

The anticipation, which Smith is careful not to call a "source," is in the discussion of the "grotesque" in tragedy in the preface to the second edition of the *Castle of Otranto*.

Yvon, Paul. "En relisant Horace Walpole." *RELXV*, XLIII (1926), 456-65.

IV. STUDIES RELATING TO THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

NOTE: In this and the following section I have listed only those publications which seemed to me especially important for the historian of English literature and ideas.

Bémont, Charles. "Histoire de Grande-Bretagne." *RH*, CLIII (1926), 101-38.

A general review of recent publications, many of them relating to the period covered by this bibliography. See especially pp. 119-22, 133-36.

Beresford, John. *The godfather of Downing Street: Sir George Downing, 1623-1684*. London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 1925.

Rev. by G. O. Sayles in *Scottish historical review*, XXIII (1926), 225.

Buer, M. C. *Health, wealth, and population in the early days of the Industrial Revolution*. London: Routledge, 1926.

The Complete Newgate calendar. Collated and edited with some appendices by J. L. Rayner and G. T. Crook. London: Navarre Society, 1926. 5 vols.

Rev. in *TLS*, June 10, 1926, p. 388.

deCastro, J. Paul. *The Gordon riots*. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Rev. in *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 305; in *TLS*, Oct. 7, 1926, p. 667.

Dimond, Sydney G. *The psychology of the Methodist revival*. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Drinkwater, John. *Mr. Charles, King of England*. London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: George H. Doran, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 13, 1927, p. 22.

Frequent extracts from unpublished manuscripts in the Hinchinbroke collection give to Drinkwater's pages a certain air of erudition. But the documents in question are usually quite unimportant, and the narrative, which deals chiefly with the personal life of Charles, is based in the main upon a few well known sources. The style is agreeable but not distinguished; the later chapters, in particular, leave an unfortunate impression of incoherence. The chief value of the book is that, along with some special pleading, it gives to readers brought up on the traditional Whig interpretation of the Restoration a more sympathetic, and probably truer, conception of Charles' character.

Esdaille, Katharine A. "English sculpture in the later XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries." *LM*, XIV (1926), 170-79, 262-71.

Faber, Harald. *Caius Gabriel Cibber, 1630-1700: his life and work*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. in *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 161-62; in *TLS*, Aug. 5, 1926, p. 521. Comment by Katharine A. Esdaille in *TLS*, Aug. 12, 1926, p. 537.

Firth, Sir Charles H. "The Dictionary of national biography." *Bulletin of the Institute of historical research*, III (1926), 186-95; IV (1926), 48-61, 123-26.

Corrections and additions.

Firth, Sir Charles H. "London during the Civil War." *History*, XI (1926), 25-36.

An interesting commentary on Macaulay's remark (*History of England*, ch. III) that "but for the hostility of the City, Charles I would never have been vanquished, and that without the help of the City, Charles II could scarcely have been restored."

The Foundling Hospital and its neighbourhood. With an introduction by W. R. Lethaby. London: The Foundling Estate Protection Association, 1926.

Grant, Colonel Maurice Harold. *A chronological history of the old English landscape painters (in oil)*. London: Published by the author, 1925.

Rev. in *TLS*, Feb. 18, 1926, p. 113.

Hinkhouse, F. J. *The preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English press, 1763-1775*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.

Horwood, R. "Plan of the cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and parts adjoining, 1792-1799." *The mask*, XII (1926), 49-65, 100-03.

Sixteen plates.

Johnson, Captain Charles. *A general history of the pirates*. Edited with a preface by Philip Gosse. London: Cayme Press, 1926.

Johnson, Captain Charles. *A general history of the robberies and murders of the most notorious pirates*. Edited by Arthur L. Hayward. London: Routledge, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 25, 1926, p. 860.

Klingberg, Frank J. *The anti-slavery movement in England: a study in English humanitarianism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.

McMurray, William. "London taverns in the XVIIth century." *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 438-40.

A list of taverns and coffee-houses flourishing in 1663.

Marshall, Dorothy. *The English poor in the eighteenth century: a study in social and administrative history from 1662 to 1782*. London: Routledge, 1926.

Morgan, William Thomas. "The Five Nations and Queen Anne." *Mississippi Valley historical review*, XIII (1926), 169-89.

Morse, Hosea Ballou. *The chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1926. 4 vols.

Rev. by John Easton in *Scottish historical review*, XXIV (1926), 61-62; by K. S. Latourette in *AHR*, XXXII (1926), 105-06.

Piette, Maximin. *La réaction Wesléyenne dans l'évolution protestante: étude d'histoire religieuse*. Brussels: La Lecture au Foyer, 1925.

Rev. by Charles Bémont in *RH*, CLIII (1926), 135-36; by J. H. Faulkner in *AHR*, XXXI (1926), 315-16; by Alfred Loisy in *RC*, LX (1926), 81-83; by George Milligan in *Scottish historical review*, XXIII (1926), 216-17.

Sée, Henri. *Les origines du capitalisme moderne*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1926.

Rev. by Albert Mathiez in *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, III (1926), 502-03.

Smith, Captain Alexander. *A complete history of the lives and robberies of the most notorious highwaymen, footpads, shop-lifts, and cheats of both sexes.* Edited by Arthur L. Hayward. London: Routledge, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 28, 1926, p. 735.

Sykes, Norman. *Edmund Gibson: Bishop of London, 1669-1748: a study in politics and religion in the eighteenth century.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. in *TLS*, Jan. 6, 1927, p. 7.

Tawney, R. H. *Religion and the rise of capitalism: a historical study.* London: Murray; New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926.

Rev. by Bartlett Brebner in *SRL*, Jan. 8, 1927, p. 495; by Stuart Chase in the *Nation*, Dec. 1, 1926, pp. 563-64; by E. S. Furniss in the *Yale review*, XVI (1927), 385-87; by George O'Brien in *Studies: an Irish quarterly review*, XV (1926), 217-29; by Henri Sée in *Revue d'histoire moderne*, I (1926), 388-89; by Preserved Smith in *AHR*, XXXII (1927), 309-11; in *TLS*, Apr. 29, 1926, p. 311.

The subject of this very important book may be described in general terms as the shifting relations between religious and moral ideals on the one hand and economic practice on the other, from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the eighteenth century. More specifically, Tawney seeks to show how the characteristic medieval notion of a society in which all human activities were at least nominally subject to moral control gradually gave place to the modern "capitalistic" conception of the life of profit-seeking as an autonomous realm in which the only valid laws are mechanical. The forces which operated in bringing about this transformation were in the main, he recognizes, economic—the irresistible march of the commercial and financial middle class. But he seeks to make clear also that the rise within this class of the religious movement of Puritanism, though in its earlier phases it involved a reassertion of the medieval attitude (see especially pp. 216-24), eventually in the period after the Restoration gave an enormous stimulus to the new spirit of profiteering (see pp. 240-47). This thesis, of course, is not altogether new. Tawney himself gave a sketch of it in a series of articles in the *Journal of political economy* for 1923, and in a slightly different form the same thesis has had considerable vogue in Germany ever since the publication of Max Weber's famous study, "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus." Tawney, however, seems to me to mark an advance over Weber (of whose theory he has written a penetrating criticism, pp. 315-17) in two ways: first in his more realistic insistence upon the primacy of economic as distinguished from ideological causes, and second in his recognition of the double character of the Puritan influence. For students of English literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, his book contains hints which should result in a number of new interpretations of the writers and movements of that period. He himself has some suggestive remarks on Baxter (pp. 220-24) and on Bunyan (p. 307); and it would be easy, and, I believe, illuminating, to study certain later writers from the same point of view. Defoe is an especially good case. Could anything be more "capitalistic," in Tawney's sense of the word, than the following sentences from the *Review* for July 29, 1710: "The Dutch are our Neighbours; in the Confederacy they are our Friends; they join with us in defending the Protestant Interest, and the Cause of Liberty; they are our good Allies against the French, and I shall be the last that shall speak, or write a Word in prejudice of our Friendship with the Dutch.—But Trade knows no Friends, in Commerce there is Correspondence of Nations, but no Confederacy; he is my Friend in Trade, who I can Trade with, *that is*, can get by; but he that would get *from me*, is my Mortal Enemy in Trade, tho'

he were my Father, Brother, Friend, or Confederate." (I owe this text to one of my students, Mr. H. H. Andersen, who is preparing a study of Defoe's economic and social ideas.) Finally, not the least of the merits of Tawney's book is its excellent and at times brilliant style. It is perhaps too brilliant in places, but that is a fault which, after a prolonged diet of dissertations and articles in learned journals, one is easily tempted to forgive.

Thomas, P. J. *Merchantilism and East India Trade: an early phase of the protection and free trade controversy*. London: P. S. King, 1926.

Tipping, H. Avray. *English homes: Period VI*. Volume I: *Late Georgian, 1760-1820*. London: *Country life*, 1926.

Rev. by Christopher Hussey in *Observer*, Sept. 5, 1926, p. 4; in *TLS*, Sept. 16, 1926, p. 609.

Turberville, A. S. *English men and manners in the eighteenth century: an illustrated narrative*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

Rev. in *N & Q*, CLI (1926), 468; in *TLS*, Oct. 21, 1926, p. 711.

An attempt to describe English society in the eighteenth century through a series of portraits of representative personalities—statesmen and politicians (chs. IV-VIII), divines (ch. IX), philanthropists (ch. X), writers, artists, actors, and musicians (chs. XI-XIII), "empire builders" (ch. XIV), and soldiers and admirals (chs. XV-XVI). The volume also has an introductory chapter on the general spirit of the period, an "outline of events" (ch. II), and an analysis of the structure of society (ch. III). It should prove very useful in giving to students a conception of the social background of eighteenth-century literature. The illustrations are numerous and well selected.

The Diary of a country parson: the Reverend James Woodforde. Edited by John Beresford. Volume II, 1782-1787. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926.

Rev. by G. B. H. in *EHR*, XLI (1926), 634-35; in *N & Q*, CL (1926), 251-52; in *TLS*, Mar. 11, 1926, p. 179.

V. STUDIES RELATING TO THE CONTINENTAL BACKGROUND

"John Adams on Rousseau: his comments on Rousseau's 'Inequality among mankind,' written in 1794, and now first published."

More books, being the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, I (1926), 53-64.

Marginal comments in a copy of the English translation of 1761.

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Kies, Paul P. "The sources and basic model of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*." *MP*, XXIV (1926), 65-90.

An attempt to show that Lessing began by constructing a "plot outline" from elements supplied by Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia*, and then deliberately inserted into this framework characters and motifs taken now from Mrs. Centlivre's *Perjur'd husband* and now from Charles Johnson's *Cælia*, keeping this latter play "constantly before him during the composition of his own" (p. 89). But as the characters and motifs in question are of a rather conventional type, and as *Miss Sara Sampson* is a play and not a doctor's dissertation, the argument is not entirely convincing.

Lion, H. "Rousseau et d'Argens." *RHL*, XXXIII (1926), 415-18.

Magendie, M. *La politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté, en France, au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660*. Paris: Alcan, [1925]. 2 vols.

Rev. by René Bray in *RHL*, XXXIII (1926), 271-72; by J. E. Spingarn in *Romantic review*, XVII (1926), 71-73; in *TLS*, Apr. 15, 1926, p. 276.

In this dissertation of 943 pages Magendie has done pioneer work in an early period of our richest literature of courtesy. In confining his treatment almost exclusively to French writers, however, he has considered in isolation a body of ideas that were very often indifferent to national boundaries. He is not unaware of the indebtedness of France to Italy for theories of *honnêteté*, but in evaluating the debt he examines—rather skeptically—only Castiglione, Della Casa, and Guazzo as possible sources. He might have considered such other representative writers as Machiavelli, Nenna, Romei, Ringhieri, Bargagli, and Ducci in an effort to determine the extent of the Italian influence in general. It is possible, also, that he has given insufficient attention to that important Spanish writer, Gracian, whose influence he appears to minimize (II, 720). The relation of seventeenth-century French courtesy to the general humanistic movement is almost wholly neglected, and if Magendie had formed but the slightest acquaintance with the various medieval books of courtesy (e.g., Caxton's) he would hardly have made the bold statement that "Erasmus fut le créateur de la civilité puérile, et ne semble pas avoir eu de devancier" (I, 150).

Magendie might have made his work more useful to students of the *honnête homme* and at the same time have given to his ideas a better emphasis and proportion if he had chosen to treat the theories of *honnêteté* as a tradition by organizing his materials according to ideas rather than according to authors and works.

Nevertheless, in spite of these criticisms as to perspective and method, Ma-

gendie has put into his work the results of much careful reading in an extensive and difficult field. Students of the conception of the gentleman in every modern European literature must feel grateful to him for his many careful distinctions (e.g., I, 150), for his warnings concerning the pitfalls that lie ahead of the student in this field (e.g., I, 339 ff), and for his valuable bibliography and his numerous abstracts of books that are practically inaccessible to most of us.—V. B. H.

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MILTON'S ESSENTIAL RELATIONSHIP TO PURITANISM AND STOICISM

By MARTIN A. LARSON
University of Idaho

The relationship between Milton and Puritanism has never been investigated scientifically or philosophically; and it is one concerning which many vague and some dogmatically erroneous conceptions exist.¹

To gain any real understanding of this problem, we must first realize that Puritanism was, as Taine calls it, the English Renaissance of Christianity. And Christianity is an historical phenomenon, actuated by a certain attitude of mind and philosophy of life, consisting of a number of fixed dogmas, and existing for a very particular purpose—to save corrupt and fallen man. Christian doctrine presents little variation on any principal point among orthodox writers, whether Catholic or Protestant. St. Augustine was the formulator and inspirer of almost all later theological teaching, especially that of all the Protestant reformers. The Reformation did not deal with doctrine, but with discipline and the ecclesiastical institution. We should keep this fact well in mind. Wherever Milton differs from any orthodox writer in regard to any given point, he differs from all. And what the orthodox philosophy was, let us briefly delineate.

Its metaphysical principle is absolute dualism: that is, it postulates two forces in the universe, one good, the other evil. The first we call *God, light, warmth, spirit*, etc.; the second, *Devil, darkness, cold, matter*, etc. These meet especially in the human being and carry on everlasting warfare. The words the *world*, the *flesh*, and the *Devil*, meant literally the same thing to the medieval Christian. Actuated by this philosophy man thinks his body evil, of the Devil; he seeks to mortify his flesh: he dresses in hair shirts, lives in noisome caverns, sleeps on gridirons, etc. During the middle ages, religious devotees shunned the world and retired into monasteries. They denied particularly the sex instinct which, being a

¹ Cf. Masson, *Life of Milton*, VI, 840; MacLeod, *The Catholic Presbyterian*, IX, 175; and Macaulay's essay on Milton.

thing peculiarly of the flesh, was ultimate proof that we are of the Devil. The dualistic philosophy is manifest in St. Paul's epistle to the Romans.² Manichaeus, who carried this philosophy to its ultimate conclusion, and who was the ancient systematic religious exponent of it, made salvation through Christ impossible, and was, therefore, a heretic. He considered matter an uncreated, eternal, and immutable substance, possessing power equal to that of God. St. Augustine, in his great controversy with Pelagius, incorporated into his own system, and so transmitted to the whole western church, all but the bitter consistency of Manichaeism. When Luther said "Man consists of a double nature, spiritual and corporal, and these two are contrary, the spirit fighting the flesh and the flesh the spirit,"³ he was expressing the philosophy of metaphysical dualism so prominent in all Christian thinking, and especially so in Puritanism. When the Puritans closed the theatres, arrayed themselves in long and somber faces, and prohibited every kind of amusement, they gave expression to their modified Manichaeistic philosophy. With the Manichee all worldly interests—æsthetic, emotional, intellectual, social, material—are evil, and therefore to be condemned; and the Puritans condemned them thoroughly.

Largely as a consequence of metaphysical dualism, the theologians developed the doctrine of absolute human corruption. St. Augustine found delight in painting human nature as bad as possible,⁴ as all the orthodox theologians have done. When the genius of Calvin gave utterance to the following, he stated the fundamental hypothesis upon which both the medieval and the Protestant Reformation rested:

Let it stand as an indubitable truth, which no inquiries can shake, that the mind of man is so entirely alienated from the righteousness of God, that he cannot conceive, desire, or design anything but what is wicked, foul, impure, and iniquitous; that his heart is so thoroughly environed by sin, that it can breathe out nothing but corruption and rottenness.⁵

Bunyan reflects exactly the same philosophy throughout his *Grace Abounding*, and Edwards says in the narrative of his life:

My wickedness, as I am in myself, has long appeared to me perfectly ineffable, and swallowing up all thought and imagination; like an infinite deluge,

² Ch. VII: 14-25.

³ Requoted from Smith's *Martin Luther*, p. 92.

⁴ Cf. *Confessions*, Everyman Series, 25-6.

⁵ *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, requoted from H. Ellis, *The New Spirit*, p. 106.

or mountains over my head. I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite, and multiplying infinite by infinite. . . . When I look into my heart, and take a view of my wickedness, it looks like an abyss infinitely deeper than hell. . . . And yet it seems to me, that my conviction of sin is exceedingly small, and faint; it is enough to amaze me that I have no more sense of my sin. . . .

I have greatly longed of late for a broken heart, and to lie low before God; . . . it would be a vile self-exaltation in me, not to be the lowest in humility of all mankind. . . . And it is affecting to think, how ignorant, I was, when a young Christian, of the bottomless, infinite depths of wickedness, pride, hypocrisy, and deceit left in my heart.⁶

Man, being so utterly evil, is completely incapable of doing anything to help himself; his every act must only plunge him more irretrievably into the depths of damnation. There can be no salvation from within; the whole process of redemption must be an externalized one. It was therefore inevitable that the theologians should construct a system of dogmas by which helpless men might procure salvation for eternity. Perhaps the chief of these was absolute predestination, which holds that God, before the foundation of the world, chose certain human beings at random from the mass of corruption to be his Elect. These owe their salvation not in the slightest degree to their own efforts or desires, but to mere unmerited and irresistible grace; all to whom this is not vouchsafed pass automatically into destruction. God's choice of his elect was purely arbitrary; and he does no injustice in passing over the rest of mankind, because all positively *deserve* to perish. This is the plain statement of the doctrine as it is expressed by practically all the orthodox theologians from Augustine to Edwards, and as it is written into all the creeds. Another great dogma was that of the Trinity, the object of man's faith. Others are those of the *creatio ex nihilo* and the incarnation. These and other dogmas constitute the externalized machinery by which helpless human beings may, by denying themselves completely, be redeemed from sin to the bliss of heaven. They expect nothing from the individual and they give him credit for nothing. They recognize no possibility of worth or power in him. These doctrines, furthermore, are quite incomprehensible to the human reason or to the human sense of justice.⁷

The reformers were particularly zealous in constructing creeds, and in compelling all to accept them *in toto*. The *Augsburg Con-*

⁶ *Works*, New York, 1844, I, 25-6.

⁷ Luther said: "If by any effort of reason I could conceive how God, who shows so much anger and iniquity, could be merciful and just, there would be no need of faith." (Quoted from Smith's *Martin Luther*, p. 208.)

fession, the *Formula of Concord*, the *Confession* of the Synod of Dort, the *Thirty Nine Articles*, and the *Westminster Confession* are a few of these. Nothing can more potently declare Puritan hatred for rationalism and individualism than these dogmatic statements of final and authoritative truth. Only as rationalism became a more powerful factor in human thinking, did men cease to make creeds.

Thus, historical Christianity in general and Puritanism in particular preached the negation of the human reason, and the validity of absolute authority in all matters pertaining to religion.⁸ Such preaching was a universal phenomenon; it assumed that nothing valid, especially concerning religion, could emanate from the individual and that he must depend in everything, not upon reason, but upon faith. The necessity of faith is, of course, the very heart and soul of Lutheranism. The following passage from the *Religio Medici*, the author of which is even considered a religious sceptic, illustrates sufficiently the point I have in mind:

Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion, for an active faith; the deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by syllogism, and the rule of reason: I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles of the trinity, with incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned from Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for to credit ordinary and visible objects, is not faith, but persuasion.

These powerful creeds, dogmas, and principles produced the need for man's absolute dependence upon forces *external to himself*. They require an absolute conformity; the utter negation of all self-expression; and the complete destruction of all individuality. Man learned to surrender completely; to negate his own reason and moral impulses; to consider himself a sink of foul iniquity; and to cast himself unquestioningly upon powers unseen.

The Puritan was the exponent of the principle of externality. I mean by this that for him nothing came from within the mind—man had no resources. He had no inward ethical reality. Man

⁸ Cf. Wm. Prynne's *Anti-Arminianisme*. This book, like all of Prynne's many and voluminous works, is, *par excellence*, an appeal to authority. What has been believed must be believed now. He has many hundreds of quotations and references to authority, but absolutely no appeal to the understanding. In one curious passage, seeking to render Arminianism ridiculous, he compares it to Copernicus' theory of the universe, saying that both are equally absurd. Prynne was perhaps the most outstanding as well as the most typical representative of Puritanism.

was but a shadow; all he possessed came from without. The Puritan was exceedingly humble and self-degrading before the powers of the unseen because he was burdened with the thought that he possessed no actual or even potential merit, that all good to him must be, not even to the slightest degree, the result of his own will or endeavor, but a sheer and undeserved gift. He had not even the power to *desire* a good thing. His dependence upon powers over which he had no control was absolute. Spiritually, he was a slave. Realizing his own impotence, he bowed down in absolute despair.

In every aspect both of action and of philosophy Milton is in direct conflict with Puritanism. In the first place, he is a monist in metaphysics—a pantheist. Spirit and body are not antagonistic, but merely more and less etherealized aspects of the same substance. All things in the universe are manifestations of God himself. We read in *Comus*:

Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
Begin to cast a beam on th' outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
And all be made immortal.

Body and soul are, then, not in a state of warfare, but can merge wholly into each other. It is this doctrine which is elaborated in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*; ⁹ we find here that rocks, herbs, stalks, trees, flowers, animals, men, angels, God, matter, and spirit are all the *same fundamental substance*, "one first matter all," in which these manifestations present differing degrees of perfection, of spirituality,—as they are nearer to or further from God in the scale of being. This is the monism, the pantheism, of the Renaissance in which evil, as a positive force, vanishes utterly, in which evil is simply the absence of good, and which Milton thus enounces in his *Christian Doctrine*: "Substance is an efflux of Deity"; ¹⁰ and thus in *Paradise Lost*:

Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
Infinitude; nor vacuous the space.¹¹

The conviction of man's utter corruption is nowhere expressed in Milton—not even in his later writings in which we find that he

⁹ Ll. 469-512.

¹⁰ *P. W.*, IV, 180.

¹¹ *P. L.*, VII, 168-9.

has turned to Christianity. The material of man is God; and that cannot be utterly corrupt.

It is impossible not to feel in reading even the smallest passage of Milton that he was a man of activity rather than of contemplation. Christianity, with Milton, consists in charity, in good works, very largely; one must have faith, it is true, but a faith that makes the world better.¹² We recall the passage in the *Areopagitica* beginning, "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue." And this pagan utterance is confirmed by many passages from the *Christian Doctrine* and *Paradise Lost*, which have not merely an ethical but also a theological significance. Milton says: "Hence implicit faith . . . cannot possibly be genuine faith."¹³ "Such as are strenuous in the conflict . . . are . . . frequently in the Scripture called *perfect*."¹⁴ This, of course, is the old Pelagian argument, and a complete denial of Lutheranism and Puritanism.

We cannot here pause upon Milton's doctrine concerning predestination except to refer the reader to Chapters III and IV in the *Christian Doctrine* and to say that in them we find the most obvious differentiation between Milton and his contemporaries. But that he should be utterly at variance on this point is a foregone conclusion once we know his metaphysical doctrines.

Furthermore—and this is a matter of extraordinary significance—Milton's was the pagan, one-world philosophy of existence. At least it was so until 1654. The Puritan was interested, not in this life, but in the next. Milton, on the other hand, expended his tremendous energy *doing* things in the *here and now*. All his pamphlets deal, not with religion, but with human problems existing in this world only. His *Areopagitica*, *Comus*, divorce tracts, tractate *Of Education*, *History of Britain*, *Tenure*, *Eikonoklastes*, etc., all bear ample witness to my statement. These are the productions of one interested in the present, not in the future, life. When Milton was defeated with the fall of the Commonwealth, it is true that he sought consolation in religion, but religion did not obliterate his self-dependence; he never surrendered wholly to the unseen; he never considered himself a sink of iniquity; and he never worried about whether he was one of the elect, as Bunyan and Edwards did for so many bitter years.

¹² Cf. Bk. XII, 581 ff.

¹³ *P. W.*, IV, 338.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 349.

Besides these points, which are philosophical and fundamental, there are others more external, practical, and definite in which Milton is seen to differentiate himself from the Puritans.

First among these we may name Milton's love for the sensuously beautiful. An admiration of this is condemned by the Augustinian philosophy; we learn this particularly from the *Confessions*¹⁵ of St. Augustine, as well as from everything Puritan. But all Milton's poetry declares his love for such beauty, which he thus states explicitly in a letter to Deodati: "Whatever the Deity may have bestowed upon me in other respects, he has certainly inspired me, if any were ever inspired, with a passion for the good and fair."¹⁶ The mere fact, of course, that Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* at all, which is a sensuous presentation of the purely spiritual and conceptual, an artistic rendition of faith, dogma, and the unseen, an attempt to make divine things pleasing to the esthetic sense, proves that Milton was no Puritan. Puritans produce not belles lettres or art of any kind, but theological treatises concerning man's badness, and creeds which man must accept upon mere and absolute authority.

The Puritans closed the theaters and frowned upon all human pleasure. But we know that Milton had a great admiration for Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Shakespeare, and a considerable regard for Jonson. Milton himself wrote a tragedy, *Samson Agonistes*, after the Greek model, and a masque, *Comus*, according to the English. And we learn in "L'Allegro" that Milton loved comedy; in "Il Penseroso" that he was inspired to see "gorgeous tragedy, In sceptered pall, come sweeping by."

We know, of course, that Milton expended much of his life-effort in direct combat with the Puritans. In 1642, it is true, he took the field at their side, because he thought they were champions of freedom; but he was soon disillusioned upon this point. We read in the *Areopagitica*, which was a protest against an edict of the Puritan parliament: we "will soon put it out of controversy that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing." The same sentiment is repeated in the sonnet "On the New Forcers of Conscience" (the Puritans). In 1648 the same parliament passed and published an *Ordinance for the Suppres-*

¹⁵ Everyman Series, p. 64.

¹⁶ *P. W.*, III, 494.

sion of *Blasphemies and Heresies*. Had the *Christian Doctrine* been then available, Milton could have been charged with seven heresies rendering him liable to the death-penalty, and eleven for which he might have been imprisoned indefinitely. In the *Tenure*, in the *Second Defence*, in the *Eikonoklastes*, and in other pamphlets of the period 1650-60, Milton makes many invidious remarks about the Puritans. Of these, one of the most incisive and significant is that concerning William Prynne:¹⁷ "A late hot querist for tithes, whom ye may know by his wits lying ever beside him in the margin to be ever beside his wits in the text, a fierce reformer once, now rankled with a contrary heat."¹⁸

One more external fact may be mentioned in this connection which serves to establish the statement that Milton was not a Puritan—the fact that he wrote his *Christian Doctrine*. This work which, on the surface, seems conclusive evidence that he was a Puritan, is final proof that he was not. For in it Milton wrecks the whole orthodox system; his realized ideal is non-conformity, individualism, rationalism. It remakes the entire doctrine of the church to suit the personal needs of John Milton, Englishman. It attacks Puritanism, not from without, but, with much more deadly effects, from within. It denies the Trinity, the dual nature of Christ, the *creatio ex nihilo*, the temporality of matter, human corruption, absolute predestination, irresistible grace, the separation of spirit from body, the divinity of Jesus, the perseverance of the saints, infant baptism, consubstantiation, transubstantiation, the authority of the Scriptures over human reason, the authority of any human being over others in matters of religion, the right of any one to interpret the Scripture for others—in fact, everything that went to make Puritanism what it was. And the wonderful part of it is that Milton made all these contradictions while accepting—at least in theory—the chief premises of Puritanism—man's need for salvation, and the final authority of the Scriptures.

The preceding discussion serves to indicate Milton's direct conflict with Puritanism. But this conflict is not the most significant: of far greater importance is the source of it in his own intellectual makeup—his rationalism and individualism—evident everywhere

¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 204, note. Prynne was, like Milton, an enemy of the episcopal ecclesiastical institution; but, unlike Milton, he was a real Puritan, and an inveterate enemy of all rationalism and individualism. He was and always remained a staunch Presbyterian.

¹⁸ *P. W.*, III, 17.

in his work—and his *principle of internality* which underlies them. It is by virtue of these that the essential Milton is everything that the typical Puritan is *not*.

It might be well to define our terms. By *rationalism* I mean that attitude of mind which seeks not a particular truth, but *Truth*; which accepts nothing because it was believed in the past. Rationalism never commits itself to a foregone conclusion. What we now hold to be most sacred may be most false, in the light of pure reason, which is the only final criterion. Rationalism holds, furthermore, that there must be change and progress; that without these life stagnates into corruption and death. By *individualism* I mean that philosophy which demands rights for each of us; which, indeed, places the interest of the individuals before that of the group. It postulates the right of each human being to have his own opinions, doctrines, judgments,—in short, to live his life independently as far as this is possible. Individualism is the enemy of uniformity, and of conformity to accepted standards. Rationalism and individualism are, of course, the most uncompromising enemies of historical Christianity.

The following is the central point in all rationalistic thinking; truth must be progressive, not final; and every one must draw his convictions from himself:

Truth is compared in scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believes things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy.

New truth is necessary to all forward movement; but the dogmatist, of course, clings to, and depends upon, the past:

It [licensing] hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise—truth. . . . The light which we have gained was given us, not to be ever gazing on, but by it to discover things more remote from our knowledge. . . . To be still searching what we know not by what we know; still closing up truth to truth as we find it, (for all her body is homogeneal and proportional,) this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic.

Quite in opposition to Puritanism, Milton wishes to establish new truths by the force of conviction:

Behold now this vast city . . . the mansion-house of liberty; . . . the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working . . . than there be pens and heads there . . . revolving new notions . . . reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement.

The dogmatist overwhelms his foe by the force of authority; but the rationalist loves to meet his enemy in the open field where human reason grapples with human reason, and cannot be stifled unheard:

Let her and falsehood grapple: who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? . . . For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power.

This is Milton's demand:

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.¹⁹

Milton's rationalism and repudiation of Puritan dogma are perhaps most boldly declared in the *Christian Doctrine*, where he denies the validity of the Trinitarian conception because it is suprarational;²⁰ and most philosophically in his proof of God's existence, where he says that man's possession of reason is final evidence that a good power pervades and dominates the universe.²¹ And Eve says, "Our reason is our law."

Milton's doctrine of individuality harmonizes completely with his rationalism. It is manifest in the *Doctrine and Discipline*, 1643; if the individual finds himself miserable in his domestic relationship, the marriage tie is to be dissolved. We find it in the tractate on education, 1644; the process of education must go on until the student "shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things," that is, until he becomes preeminently able to form individual, valid generalizations. It is given us in the *Tenure*, 1649; kings are not representatives of God, but of the people, and subject to their laws. It is proclaimed in the *Christian Doctrine*, 1658; every man must make his own religion. Milton's individualism is courageously expressed in the pamphlet *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration*, 1673, in which, putting all Protestants upon precisely the same basis, he argues successively in favor of toleration for Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, and Arminians, although he himself, as we know, belonged to none of these sects. All of these had an equal right to their opinions; no one has any right to compel in matters of conviction. Thus we find Milton's doctrine of individualism expressed in every aspect

¹⁹ These and the following quotations are from the *Areopagitica*.

²⁰ *P. W.*, IV, 95.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

of his thinking, and during every period of his life; and in every expression of it he was diametrically opposed to the Puritans.

But we must look to the *Areopagitica* for an adequate exposition of his philosophy.

Lack of individualism implies conformity; and conformity implies stagnation and death. The following is spoken specifically of the Puritans:

These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be valued were such an obedient unanimity as this! What a fine conformity would it starch us all into! Doubtless a staunch and solid piece of framework, as any January could freeze together. . . . This is the golden rule in theology as well as arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Milton expressed a fierce hatred for "the discipline of Geneva, formed and fabricated already to our hands," which left neither privilege nor responsibility to the individual. This discipline, of course, was Presbyterianism or English Puritanism. Sects and schisms are necessary, being the expression of individual attitude and conscience; and we must never try to compel others to our own opinions;²² there is to be a general and internal unity in infinite variety—neither uniformity nor conformity:

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding. . . . What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at. . . . Could we but forego this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. . . . I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks. . . . We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of "wood and hay and stubble" forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms.

Not that I can think well of every separation. . . . Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian, that many be tolerated rather than all compelled.

That these doctrines and that this philosophy and attitude of mind are, by reason of their modernity and uniqueness, most extraordinary is a fact which even the most casual student of the 16th and 17th centuries must recognize at once. We naturally expect some great principle in Milton's own thinking to lie behind all this. And such is the fact.

²² It is on this point, of course, that modern life is to be differentiated from medieval.

I find it convenient to call this principle the doctrine of internality. It is a concept that sees in the individual the source of all moral reality and intellectual power. In accordance with this, nothing external to the mind has any ethical valuation. The mind, by developing its own resources, can make itself impregnable to all assaults from without. We must depend upon ourselves and develop our minds. Everything that is of any significance is in our own power. No man is a puppet to external forces, but the lord of his own fate. It is in this that Milton most completely repudiates Puritanism and all that it implies. Man must, according to Milton, look to himself—never to any external or supernal power—for the formation of his convictions and the guidance of his conduct. Milton's rationalism and individualism are the direct outgrowth of his principle of internality.

This principle, which I believe to be the animating force behind all his thought and action, is expressed again and again; it is stated most completely in *Comus*, in the *Areopagitica*, and, with certain modifications, in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Although, as expressed in his poetry, this principle is an imaginative conception, Milton translated it into action in his prose and in his life. It is expressed again and again, and is the theme of *Comus*:

Virtue could see to do what virtue would
By her own radiant light, though sun and moon
Were in the flat sea sunk.
He that hath light within his own clear breast
May sit i' the centre, and enjoy bright day;
But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts
Benighted walks under the mid-day sun;
Himself is his own dungeon.²³

From the passages quoted or referred to, several facts are evident, all bearing on the same principle and all serving to contrast Milton with Puritanism: first, virtue is an all-powerful thing, and exists within the mind, is its own intrinsic and inexpugnable possession, derived from no source outside itself; second, the hidden strength, chastity—which, with Milton, simply meant physical and intellectual purity—is not given man by Heaven, but is his own gift to himself; third, internality is so pervasive a thing that only those who are pure in mind can receive excellent things through the senses; fourth, this inward purity, bestowed by man upon himself, is so dynamic in its powers that it achieves for man, unaided

²³ Cf. also ll. 414-22, 453-63 and 588 ff.

by any external power, the conversion of the body, "the unpolluted temple of the mind," to spirituality, and to immortality in bliss, perfection, and glory.

The *Areopagitica* which, even though in prose, is semi-imaginative, explains the doctrine more methodically; the profit which a man may derive from any external thing of whatever kind depends not at all upon the nature of the object but upon the quality of one's mind:

And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author: 'To the pure all things are pure;' . . . bad books . . . to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. . . . All opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. . . . A wise man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and . . . a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without a book.

In the world, good and evil are much the same thing:

Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is . . . involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil.

Victory over real temptation is the only proof of virtue; we must use the good within the mind to judge the appearances of the world:

He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. . . . That virtue, therefore, which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness. . . .

Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity, than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason?

The following is fundamental. Vice and virtue are personal, intrinsic, internal, existing quite irrespective of anything external to the mind:

Why did he [God] create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not skillful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; . . . and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness.

Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the same: remove that, and ye remove them both alike.

When Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, he had undergone many ex-

periences, and his philosophy was no longer the same as when he wrote his pagan *Comus* and *Areopagitica*. He had become a Christian. Yet the principle of internality—a doctrine purely ethical—remained essentially unchanged. In Satan we have an exemplification of it; he was made so utterly miserable because, in spite of his vaunts and boasts,²⁴ what he had to draw from within was evil only.²⁵ The same philosophy is expressed in regard to Adam and Eve,²⁶ to Cromwell,²⁷ and by Christ in *Paradise Regained*.²⁸

That this rationalism, individualism, and internalism constitute an utter repudiation of Puritanism and all that it signifies must be evident. Puritanism demands above all else the negation of the reason, the conformity to creeds and dogmas, and a complete dependence upon external forces. Milton's doctrines require that each human being realize his independence from all authority; that he depend upon his own reason; and that he make himself an individual unit. All this, of course, presupposes a denial of the Puritan metaphysical and anthropological principle; for were not man basically good, Milton's teaching would be wholly meaningless. And it calls for a complete individual self-dependence which utterly repudiates Puritan surrender and dependence upon external forces.

This is but a small portion of the evidence that might be adduced to show that Milton was not an historical Puritan; but it must here remain sufficient.

What, then, is the source of Milton's principle of internality? Are we to look for it in some Renaissance thinker? But the Renaissance did not develop any great or original system of morality—it was too much interested in other things—in life, action, metaphysics—and cared little about the problem of conduct, which exists only when life has grown relatively corrupt, and men are compelled to seek consciously for happiness. Or did Milton himself originate his ethical principles? But all evidence tends to show that Milton's was not the creative, but the absorbing and disseminative mind. He had no quiet contemplative years at his disposal to bring into existence new ideas and systems. He was abreast of

²⁴ *P. L.*, I, 251-8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 73-8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 1121 ff.

²⁷ *P. W.*, I, 285-6.

²⁸ *P. R.*, II, 466-72.

his time, and formulated the most advanced doctrines and applied them to current problems; but he did not create conceptions.

It is necessary, then, that we look for a source; and its clue is not far to seek. As we learn from countless passages taken from works of all periods of his life, Milton had a great and very conscious admiration for Greek culture, learning, and philosophy. Comus is made to condemn the Stoics, which, of course, is an expression of Milton's admiration for them. Milton's abundant use of mythological allusion, which constitutes an intrinsic part of his poetry, is further evidence of his love for pagan culture. In his treatise on Christian doctrine, Milton refers nine times to the Greek writers of tragedy, considering them authorities on morality. He calls Aristotle "one of the best interpreters of nature and morality."²⁹ He speaks of the "divine volumes of Plato and Xenophon."³⁰ Concerning his studies at Horton he says: "I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted leisure, which I entirely devoted to the perusal of the Greek and Latin classics."³¹ In the *Animadversions* we read: "The heathen philosophers thought that virtue was for its own sake inestimable, and the greatest gain of a teacher to make a soul virtuous."³² Marcus Aurelius, Milton calls "that mirror of princes."³³ Milton's school was consciously modeled upon those of Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Isocrates, and the studies to be pursued in it were the classics, of which the crowning glory were to be treatises on morality.³⁴

The same attitude is expressed in countless passages. It is among the moral philosophers of Greece and Rome that we must look for the source of Milton's great ethical principle. It is not, however, among those whom he mentions most frequently—Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Cicero—that we are to seek its ultimate expression. As usual, Milton found it necessary to refer least to those with whom he is most in accord.

Socrates was the first great philosopher among the Greeks who attempted to solve the problem of human happiness. He gave it a rationalistic and intellectualistic treatment which all his suc-

²⁹ *P. W.*, II, 13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 119.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 255.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 81.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 471-2.

cessors also pursued. He made virtue and happiness a matter of the mind. With him ignorance and evil were identical; and virtue and happiness on the one hand were synonymous with knowledge and wisdom on the other. That virtue could be obtained only through the exercise of reason and knowledge was clear to Socrates, but the precise method he could never adequately explain. The reason for the endless, unmerciful, and insoluble enigmas of Socrates is the impossibility of declaring ultimately what virtue and happiness consist in. The difficulty with the Socratic system was that in it virtue and happiness depend upon contingencies, upon external and material factors. For Socrates (as well as for Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle and Plutarch) material existences possess intrinsic value, and human happiness must be considered in its relation to them. "Sickness is an evil? Beyond a doubt."³⁵ There is a certain materialistic utilitarianism in this. Because of the indefinability of virtue, human happiness was an unteachable science. Socrates was groping in comparative darkness. As long as we make virtue, happiness—the good—depend upon pleasure and pain—which are sensations—there can be no solution of the ethical problem.

In Aristotle we find indeed a development of the problem laid down by Socrates, but no answer. And the same intellectualistic eudaimonism is present.³⁶ Happiness and virtue are to be gained through self-control; understanding must direct the will to pursue that which, when everything has been considered, is seen to be of the greatest value.

The Hellenic moral philosophers saw that all happiness must depend upon the freedom of the will, for where there is no choice of action, there can be no rational happiness. Their study was, then, to find how the will *could be most free*. It was the solution of that problem which first produced the doctrine of internality.

During the period 400 B. C. to 100 A. D. the civilization of Greece and Rome consummated a materialistic development which made the problem of morality exceedingly acute. Rome became a sink of corruption. The brutality, sensuality, and obscenity of Nero's Rome quite surpass our power of imagination. The world was flooded with a "literature of despair." Life was seen to be hopeless, nauseating. Men were in the condition that follows the

³⁵ *Socratic Discourses*, Everyman Series, II, 223.

³⁶ *Ethics*, Everyman Series, p. 54.

repulsion consequent upon over-satiety in debauchery. Man had exhausted the possibilities of pleasing the physical; where should he turn for satisfaction now?

To cure, or at least to remedy, the disease in the clutches of which life was disintegrating, two solutions were offered. One of these we call *Christianity* and the other *Stoicism*. They are similar in one fundamental aspect, but antithetical in another. They are similar and present a tremendous advance over the thinking of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in that they deny all intrinsic valuation whatever to material things. All that any one can desire in this world—riches, honor, glory, health, friends, etc.—are, in themselves, worthless. But the Christian, in that he looks above and beyond whence his help cometh, is diametrically opposed to the Stoic; he “desires a better country, that is an heavenly.” Christ said:

He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. . . . He that believeth on the Son shall have everlasting life. . . . In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. . . . I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father, but by me.

This was the message of Christianity to the world: negate yourself, surrender to the unseen, believe in Christ, put yourself in the right relationship with the supernatural, and you will go to heaven after death; refuse this invitation and you will spend eternity in hell-fire. It was this out of which Augustinianism (historical Christianity) inevitably grew. It made the unseen glorious by pouring contempt upon the seen. The message of Stoicism was quite different. Marcus Aurelius says:

Look within; within is the fountain of good, and it will ever bubble up, if thou wilt only ever dig.³⁷ . . . Be like the promontory against which the waves continually break, but it stands firm and tames the fury of the waters around it.³⁸

The message of Stoicism was this: depend upon your reason and knowledge to gain virtue; develop your own resources; as there is no life after this, don't worry about the future; gain happiness from the consciousness of right-doing; make yourself absolutely independent of all things external to yourself; derive all good from within; as material things are only appearances and not within your power, accept them or resign them without emotion as fate or for-

³⁷ *Meditations*, ed. by Spaulding, p. 67.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

tune may dictate; free yourself from all passion and achieve happiness by desiring those things only which you can bestow upon yourself.

This is Stoicism, the doctrine of internality. *Zeno*, whose writings are not extant, was the founder of the school. The same philosophy was expounded by the slave Epictetus in his *Discourses*, and by the Emperor Aurelius in his *Meditations*. It was systematically set forth by the philosopher Seneca. It is in the works of Epictetus, Aurelius, and Seneca that we find the source of Milton's great ethical principle. I wish to quote a few passages—sufficient to indicate that the morality of *Comus* and the *Areopagitica* is inspired by Stoicism.

The indifferent are the things which lie between the virtues and the vices,—wealth, health, life, death, pleasure, pain.³⁹ . . . I have this purpose—to make you free from restraint. . . . Neither wealth is in our power, nor health, nor reputation, nor, in a word, anything else except the right use of appearances.⁴⁰

Death and life, and honour and dishonour, pain and pleasure—all these things happen equally to good men and bad, being things which make us neither better nor worse. Therefore, they are neither good nor evil.⁴¹

Thank the Gods that they have allowed you to be above those things which they have not placed in your power. . . . For what, then, have the Gods made you accountable? For that which is alone in your power, the proper use of appearances.⁴²

The inviolability of the happiness resulting from virtue is thus explained by Seneca and Aurelius:

Virtue . . . makes the prisoner . . . happier than the executioner and sickness better than health.⁴³ . . . Virtue is that perfect good which is the complement of a happy life. . . . It is the knowledge both of others and itself, it is an invincible greatness of mind, not to be elevated or dejected with good or ill fortune.⁴⁴ . . . It is virtue alone that raises us above griefs, hopes, fears. . . . A good man is happy with himself and independent of fortune.⁴⁵

Remember that the ruling faculty is invincible. . . . Therefore the mind that is free from passions is a citadel, for man has nothing more secure to which he can fly for refuge and for the future be inexpugnable.⁴⁶

The good man is invincible . . . take his land: take his slaves, his magisterial office, take his poor body. . . . The only contest into which he enters is that

³⁹ *Discourses*, by Epictetus, ed. Spaulding, p. 160.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴¹ Aurelius, 13.

⁴² Epictetus, 40.

⁴³ Seneca, *Morals*, London, 1803, I, 124-5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁴⁶ Aurelius, 80.

about things which are within the power of his will; how then will he not be invincible?⁴⁷

This reads like a prose version of *Comus*; and the fact is that *Comus* is simply a poetic rendition of this.

Let us now, finally, quote a few passages which express in the clearest terms the Stoic doctrine of internality; this is the source of all their principles and teachings. It is expressed in multiform diversity, and animates almost every thought which the Stoics formulated; externals are accidental and unreal; the mind is the sole reality:

He is poor, who has need of another, and has not from himself all things which are useful for life.⁴⁸ . . . Suppose that men kill thee, cut thee in pieces, curse thee. What can these things do to pervert thy mind from remaining pure, wise, sober, just?⁴⁹

God has fixed his law and says, 'If you would have anything good, receive it from yourself.'⁵⁰ . . . From within comes ruin, and from within comes help.⁵¹ . . . If you gaze after externals, you must of necessity ramble up and down in obedience to the will of your master. And who is your master? He who has the power over the things which you seek to gain or try to avoid.⁵²

The mind is above all fortune; if that be evil, it makes everything else so, too.⁵³ . . . There is no defense in walls, fortifications, and engines against the power of fortune; we must provide ourselves within, and when we are safe there, we are invincible; we may be battered, but not taken.⁵⁴ . . . All the good and ill we do is under the dominion of the mind; . . . a clear conscience states us in an inviolable peace; and . . . the greatest blessing in nature is that which every man may bestow upon himself.⁵⁵ . . . No man shall ever be poor, that goes to himself for what he wants, and that is the readiest way to riches; . . . shall I call him poor that wants nothing, though he may be beholden for it to his patience rather than to fortune? or shall any man deny him to be rich, whose riches can never be taken away?⁵⁶ . . . Let the mind be great and glorious, and all other things are despicable in comparison.⁵⁷

This is the great principle of Stoicism; and it is also the actuating doctrine in Milton. The impregnability of the fortress of virtue and intellect, a personal and individual possession from which all good may proceed, is the ideal expressed. But just as the human

⁴⁷ Epictetus, 209.

⁴⁸ Aurelius, 30.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁰ Epictetus, 83.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 100.

⁵³ Seneca, 247.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 314-5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 320.

mind is the source of all good, so is it also the source of all evil. There only may ethical reality exist. All else is but shadow and the material upon which the ruling faculty—the mind—may exercise its powers.

Milton's essential repudiation of Puritanism and absorption of essential Stoicism are indeed most significant. By these actions he is marked chiefly as a man of the modern world. He is a pagan, a Hellene. He is a rationalist, instead of a legalist. But above all he is an individualist, the destroyer of medieval Realism, uniformity, and conformity; and a powerful herald of that democracy which has made itself felt in every aspect of human existence—the domestic, the political, the social, and the religious. It marks Milton as perhaps the greatest exponent of the modern theory of life, which holds that all men are inalienably free and potentially equal, that they can depend upon themselves for everything. This is the consequence of the doctrine of internality.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edmund Spenser, by W. L. Benwick. 198 pp. Edward Arnold and Company, London. 1925.

This most interesting and admirable book seeks to define the task which Spenser assumed as an artist and as a teacher in professing poetry, and the manner in which he went about achieving it. The author's conclusions are epitomized in the closing chapter: "He set out to endow England with poetry great in kind, in style, in thought; conversely, to show the world that modern England was capable of poetry as great as that of any other age and country, that she had her share of poetic power, of art and learning. He brought to England the art of ancient and modern Europe: which means that he had to learn the art of Europe first—to recognize, and then to acquire and exhibit, the vital and permanent qualities that Virgil and Catullus, Petrarch and Ariosto, Marot and Ronsard, had achieved. That is one motive of imitation, and it carries with it its converse, that to prove England capable of poetry, England's poet had to meet Virgil and Ariosto and Ronsard, Rome and Italy and France, on their own ground. Certain things were held to make great poetry: England had to accomplish these things in order to take her place of credit in the eyes of the world, Spenser to accomplish them for her in order to prove himself the poet. It was a tremendous undertaking, and the more tremendous for the refusal to abandon England's own inheritance, her mode of romance and the art of Chaucer. And Spenser had to begin with the foundations, to make language and style and verse anew, to reconcile the native taste with the style and forms of classical and foreign art, to control the violent spirit of the new age and direct it into channels of art. . . . To seek and bring home the purest honey of beauty and delight from all the fields and gardens of art was a great work for England, but it was not enough for the deep and ambitious mind. Poetry for Spenser was to be an efficient cause of action in the world, and so *The Faerie Queene* was a political tract as well as a fine story. That was for Spenser's own contemporaries: but, beyond that, for all time there should remain the moral doctrine of the poem, working on the minds of men and inspiring them to right thinking and right doing. England then and forever should have the purest doctrine of life gathered and stored for her use and benefit. Spenser took for his subject all that concerns man in all his faculties and desires and relations, and expended all his native power and all his acquired knowledge and skill on the construction of the ideal and on its embellishment. Feeling, intuition, tradition, learning, the sense of beauty and the sense of right and the sense of divinity, all combined in that ideal; the philosophy of the ancients, the teaching of the Church, the custom of English nobility, were fused together. . . .

"To the immense task he brought immense energy. The picture which has been drawn of the gentle impressionable Spenser warbling forth his languid strains is scarcely compatible with that of the administrator 'not unskilful or without experience in the wars'—still less with the critic who traversed the most authoritative opinion in England and the poet who must have worked as few men could. This energy was the greater that it was the energy of the whole man, the patriot, the moralist, the scholar; and since patriotism, moral feeling, scholarship were understood to be proper motives in poetry, all the force of the man wrought with the primary force of the artist to produce poetry, and all his energy was transformed into poetry. . . .

"Poetry, then, was a high calling, reserved for the elect. Ronsard 'commonly said that all men should not rashly concern themselves with poetry; that prose was the language of men, but poetry was the language of the gods; and that men should not be its interpreters unless they were consecrated from their birth and dedicated to this ministry.' It is this sense of vocation that divides the Renaissance poets from the mediæval, and which, still more, sets Spenser apart from the group of courtier poets who were his early patrons, as it made him the acknowledged leader of the Elizabethan poets and, in the words of his epitaph, 'the Prince of Poets in his Tyme.' Thence came the intense conviction of the value of his work and the confidence in its reward. The poet was the chosen agent of God, and in return for faithful service he was granted a measure of the permanence which is in God alone. That was the ultimate inspiration of his labour and the source of energy; and that was the responsibility which rested upon him. The poet was responsible for his country as a nursery of poetry; for his native tongue; for the truth and soundness of his doctrine; for the action it prompted and the desires it aroused and the thought it directed. He was responsible to the Giver that his talent was sedulously cultivated and worthily employed. So while Spenser gave to England, to his contemporaries and his followers, the example of a magnificent way of writing, of art and thought, of a strenuous working life, he gave what was even more valuable—pride and confidence, the fervour of conviction and faith."

These quotations give the book in a nutshell. Professor Renwick has not attempted to deal with biography or with literary sources and influences in detail, but rather to give a better understanding of Spenser's poetic ideas, aims and methods, with special emphasis upon the body of critical thought which formed his poetry. He has succeeded to a degree.

This little volume may well serve as a sympathetic introduction to the study of Spenser, but the writer of this review is glad to acknowledge that although he has devoted many years to such study this book has brought him appreciably closer to the poet.

University of Washington

FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFOED

The Genesis and Sources of Pierre Corneille's Tragedies from Médée to Pertharite, by Lawrence Melville Riddle. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland, 1926.

We have been brought up with the idea that Corneille borrowed in Ancient Rome his subjects, his characters and the austerity of his theatre; however we have felt a strong relationship between *Le Cid* and *Horace* or *Cinna*, and felt also that other influences may have acted on this theatre, based on

honneur, which Sainte-Beuve said is the impulse that the French will obey most willingly.

To search for the sources of the plays and trace particularly the influence of Corneille's dramatic contemporaries on the Cornelian tragedy is the aim of Dr. Riddle's work. This work considers the tragedies from *Médée* to *Pertharite* (1635-1651). Thorough studies and researches have led Mr. Riddle to the almost revolutionary conclusion that Corneille's tragedies were suggested to him more by the contemporary theatre than by ancient literature. Doubtless a deep study of ancient authors was necessary, and, I should judge, a strong inclination. But it seems that Corneille followed primarily the current of his time: he wrote *Le Cid* because plays on Spanish subjects were very popular, witness Rotrou's theatre (which, by the way, furnished Corneille with the suggestion for *Médée*); he wrote *Polyeucte* and *Théodore* (the suggestion came to him from Bartholommei's plays) and *Nicomède* (inspired by Rotrou's *Cosroès*), because there was a newly-reawakened interest for religious plays; but the story of *Horace* and *Cinna* is even more interesting. It is hard for me to abandon belief in Corneille's entire originality in *Horace*, which I deem to be the purest in the Cornelian theatre; but I bow to evidence.

The loudest opponents in the Quarrel of the *Cid*, had been Mairet and Scudéry. In their own plays, Corneille borrowed weapons for his defense. He wrote *Horace* with *Sophonisbe* in front of him; a parallel of the two plays brings evidence of similar situations and characters; it is through Mairet that he was led to Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. To the latter chiefly was he indebted, Mr. Riddle shows, for the main situation: patriotism in conflict with family ties, and other points which had been hitherto attributed to Corneille's invention. On the other hand, Dr. Riddle rejects Lope de Vega's *El honrado hermano* and a life of Tullus Hostilius translated from Plutarch by Amyot as sources of *Horace*.

It is extremely interesting to vision Corneille as an opportunist when one had not done so before. As he had brought down Mairet's defenses by borrowing in his play suggestions for *Horace*, he chose for his next play, *Cinna*, an event in the life of Augustus, very similar to the conspiracy against Caesar, which is the subject of *La Mort de César* by Scudéry, his most caustic critic in the *Cid* adventure.

These facts light Corneille with a new light; for he appears no longer as an isolated dramatist who fights for novelty, a *romantique*, so to say, but "the master mind of a group of co-workers furnishing plays of a type which the French theatre-goers were treating with favor."

I wondered how much his natural Norman shrewdness had helped him in the occurrence. For instead of protesting, after *Le Cid*, against his enemies' attacks, he reduced them to silence by the success of plays suggested from their own, offering situations similar to their own (*La Mort de César* furnished Corneille also with suggestions for *Polyeucte* and perhaps a theme for *Pompée*).

With Scudéry's play to work from, and his choice made of Auguste and his deed of clemency, he read Seneca's *De Clementia* and looked in Dio Livy, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Appian for situations similar to those of Scudéry's play, and also for characters. For (and this point is exceedingly interesting and well brought out) he always preferred a character or an incident of the

period he was treating to one of his own invention, when his main source lacked some necessary detail.

The subject of *Polyeucte* was inspired by Bartholommei's *Polietto*, to which Corneille's play offers certain resemblances which the common source, Surius, does not offer. And Corneille then turned to the lives of Saints and Martyrs. It is more than probable that he wished by this play to enter into no controversy and side neither with Jansenists nor Molinists; he found the divergent views of the doctrine of Grace in the Vulgate and was impressed by the innumerable conversions appearing in the lives of early Christian martyrs. As for the dramatic elements, such as the struggle in Pauline's soul when she has found her lost lover and knows her husband to be in danger in the temple,—or the dilemma in which Sévère finds himself when asked to use his influence to save his rival in love, Corneille found examples in Scudéry's *La Mort de César* and also in his own *Cid* and *Horace*.

The space which is allowed me does not permit that I should follow Mr. Riddle through his researches for the other plays; they are done with the same precise and elegant conscientiousness, and I believe that no student of the seventeenth century can henceforward ignore this book and its conclusions.

Another of these conclusions shows an important element of the Cornelian theatre, a certain spirit of unity or sequence. In this period of production, Corneille's characters offer resemblances; they are historical and at the same time are drawn from previous characters in Corneille's own plays; and those predominant at this period are the wilful, the heroes, and those that place honor above all sentiments of affection. Dr. Riddle hesitates to state that Corneille made a deliberate choice of them, since he was drawn to his subjects by contemporary suggestions and since his sources offered characters of this type. I would say that circumstances helped him in the choice of strong heroes. He accepted suggestions from contemporary authors and was led by them to historical sources, but did not the subject attract him in proportion of its force, or as its development would furnish such characters?

These are a few of the conclusions of the book or ideas suggested by them; it is impossible to appreciate such work in such a short space, but those interested in the French *théâtre classique* will find it invaluable.

University of Iowa

A. J. DICKMAN

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THE RELATION OF THE FIRST QUARTO VERSION TO THE FIRST FOLIO VERSION OF SHAKESPEARE'S *HENRY V*¹

By HARDIN CRAIG
University of Iowa

By nearly all Shakespeare scholars the Quarto version² of *Henry V* has been regarded as an abridgment of the Folio version; usually, as having been cut down for stage presentation.³ A pronounced set was given to the opinions of Shakespeare scholars by the late Mr. P. A. Daniel's introduction to his edition of *Henry V* for the New Shakespeare Society in 1874. He accounted for the shortness of the Quarto on the theory that it is a version cut down for stage performance.⁴ Daniel presents irrefutable evidences in the Arch-

¹ Citations of text are from *King Henry V. Parallel Texts of the First and Third Quartos and the First Folio*. Edited by Ernest Roman. Marburg in Hessen, 1908.

² One may be permitted in studying the relation of the versions to disregard all later quartos and consider merely the First Quarto (1600), and to disregard all folio versions except that of the First Folio (1623).

³ A summary of the history of the question will be found in *The Text of Henry V*. By Hereward T. Price. Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1920; in the *Furness Variorum* edition, and in other editions of the play. Both Pope and Johnson regarded the Quarto as a first sketch (*Works*, 1728, Vol. I, Preface, pp. xvii-xix; *Shakespeare's Works*, 1765, Vol. IV, 372, 394, 408). Upton (*Critical Observations on the Text of Shakespeare*, 1746), Capell (*Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare*, 1779-83, Vol. I, pt. 2, *Henry V*, pp. 4-5), Steevens (*Plays*, 1778, Vol. I, pp. 265-6), and Malone (*Works*, 1790, Vol. I, Preface, p. x) regarded the Quarto as a briefer version of the Folio and as "surreptitious." Indeed, the quarto version of *Henry V* has been the favorite example of those who were on the lookout for evidences of the shorthand piracy of Shakespeare's plays. Charles Knight (*Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare*, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 309 ff.) regarded the folio version as an elaboration of the quarto version, and J. Payne Collier (*Shakespeare's Works*, 1842, Vol. IV, pp. 461-3), though strongly convinced that the Quarto is a shorthand report, believed it to be the report of an earlier version than that of the Folio.

⁴ The most recent writer on the subject, Mr. Hereward T. Price, above referred to, also argues that the Quarto is a stage-abridgment and cites as proof the fact that all subsequent stage versions of *Henry V*, which have been prepared from the Folio text, have assumed a form approximating that of the Quarto.

bishop's speech on Henry's claim to the French crown (I, ii, 65-89) that the text of the Quarto, in that passage at least, presupposes the text of the Folio as its original. He argues also that the Quarto as a play shows actual evidence of having been revised from the Folio. The following is his principal point. The Dauphin was historically not present at the battle of Agincourt. The Folio (III, v, vii; IV, ii) represents him as having been present, the Quarto does not; therefore, the Quarto has corrected the Folio in the interest of historical accuracy. I shall not cite his other arguments, because I am not immediately concerned with them.

The first to take serious issue with Daniel was Brinsley Nicholson in a paper entitled "The Relation of the Quarto to the Folio Version of Henry V" (*Trans. New Shakespeare Society*, 1880-1882, pt. 1, pp. 77-102). Nicholson admits the possibility that the Quarto is an abridged version of the Folio and discusses Daniel's hypothesis of cutting for stage presentation and, at the same time, correcting historical errors, but interprets the data in a different fashion. He argues, for example, that Shakespeare in producing the Folio version has deliberately violated historical fact in the matter of bringing the Dauphin on the field of Agincourt, since the Dauphin's arrogance is in the sharpest possible contrast to the humility of the English king. Nicholson proceeds through a careful and extended study of text, characterization, and action to demonstrate the superiority of the Folio. Since the Folio is so obviously an improvement on the Quarto, he argues that the Folio is the later, better, improved, and revised work of Shakespeare. Nicholson's study is, however, of the kind that does not preclude other interpretations. So cogent is his reasoning in detail that it is almost unthinkable that he should not have found followers had his method been different. The trouble is that one might very well grant Nicholson's contentions—they are in fact inescapable—and yet prefer to account for the inferiority of the Quarto by ascribing it to an adapter and a pirate, or, for that matter, to a very bad manuscript and an incompetent printer. It is not too much to claim that Nicholson's article does carry conviction. The Folio in passage after passage seems actually and consciously a revision of the Quarto, and the Quarto, when considered in detail, does not seem to be either merely an abridgment of the Folio, much less a revision of that text, or the result of bad reporting.

In the Literary Supplement of *The Times* for 1919 (Jan. 9, 16;

Mar. 13; Aug. 7, 14) is a series of articles by Messrs. Pollard and Wilson on "The Stolne and Surreptitious Shakespearean Texts." The material of these articles is now widely familiar, but they are cited here for the sake of completeness and for the bearing they have on the relative age of the Quarto and the Folio. They attempt to prove that the texts of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), and *Hamlet* (1603) are made up of two sorts of sources: First, a stolen and abridged transcript of an earlier text than the ones which later appeared in quartos or Folio; and, secondly, a minor actor's surreptitious additions to this early text. With these propositions we are not at this time concerned, but the assumption of theatrical conditions made by the authors has of course an important bearing. Some such conditions must in fact be presupposed if we are to believe that the Quarto is an earlier version of the play and the Folio a revision of it. "Thus all these four plays," they say, "existed in some early form, presumably with Shakespeare's first touches on them, before May, 1593, the date at which his company (leaving him in town to push his fortunes with his newly published 'Venus and Adonis') started on the longest tour it ever took. It is suggested that the four piracies of these plays are primarily based on the abridgments which were hastily made for this particular tour, that some at least of the plays from which the abridgments were made were old dramatic material only partly worked over by Shakespeare before 1593, and that all were subsequently rehandled by him." *Henry V*, the authors think, was rehandled in 1599. With the various details of this hypothesis we are not concerned but only with the general idea.

If it could be shown, with reference to Nicholson's case, that certain themes in *Henry V* are much more elaborately presented in the Folio than in the Quarto, or appear in the Folio and not in the Quarto, would one not have to believe either that those themes have been amplified, or developed, in the Folio for the sake of the effect they produce, or that in the abridgment of the play for the stage, or in process of its piracy, these themes have been specially selected for cutting? The latter alternative is unlikely, because, as Nicholson argued, they are good—obviously better than the parts retained—and because, since they are interwoven in the text of the Folio as words, phrases, and sentences, the selection of these

bits would be a most troublesome and unlikely method of abridgment.

In order to show that a revision by themes is in evidence let me cite a few examples.

Take, first, the case of Fluellen. In the play as we have it in the Folio it is Fluellen's "humour" to refer pedantically to the art of war. In the Quarto there are two slight instances of this, but only enough to have suggested what you find in the Folio. I cite only passages which occur in both versions.⁵

In the Quarto, Act III, scene ii, line 58, Gower enters and tells Fluellen to come straight to the mines to the duke of Gloucester. Fluellen replies,

Looke you, tell the Duke it is not so good
To come to the mines: the concavities is otherwise.
You may discuss to the Duke, the enemy is digd
Himselfe five yardes under the countermines:
By *Iesus* I thinke heele blowe up all
If there be no better direction.

In this there is no trace of pedantry, Fluellen being merely discontented with the way things are going as in the earlier part of the scene when he drives the slackers back into the battle. He is, however, sending an impertinent message to his general. The Folio, which is in prose, follows out the suggestion:

Flu. To the Mynes? Tell you the Duke, it is not so good to come to the Mynes: for looke you, the Mynes is not according to the disciplines of the Warre; the concavities of it is not sufficient: for looke you, th'athversarye, you may discusse unto the Duke, looke you, is digt himselfe foure yard under the Countermines: by Cheshu, I thinke a will plowe up all, if there is not better directions.

There are two slight changes here which might very well be conceded to chance if similar instances were not to be found.

In Act III, scene vi, lines 5-15, Gower says to Fluellen,

Is the Duke of Exeter safe?
Flu. The Duke of Exeter
Is a man whom I love and I honour, and I worship, with my soule,
And my heart, and my life, and my lands, and my livings,
And my uttermost powers. The Duke is looke you,
God be praised and pleased for it, no harme in the worrell.
He is maintaine the bridge very gallantly.

The Folio presents the same material in this form:

Flu. The Duke of Exeter is as magnanimous as Agamemnon, and a man

⁵ The episode of the Scotchman, Welshman, and Irishman (III, ii, 59-153), of which there is no trace in the Quarto, presents Fluellen according to the Folio conception.

that I love and honour with my soule, and my heart, and my dutie, and my liue, and my living, and my uttermost power. He is not, God be praised and blessed, any hurt in the World, but keepes the bridge most valliantly, *with excellent discipline*.

Again in Act IV, scene i, lines 65-79, the Quarto has the theme of Fluellen's pedantry clearly developed, but the Folio much more significantly:

Quarto: In the name of Iesu speake lewer (Q₂ lower).
 It is the greatest folly in the worell, when the auncient
 Prerogatives of the warres be not kept.
 I warrant you, if you looke into the warres of the Romanes,
 You shall find no tittle tattle, nor bible bable there:
 But you shall find the cares, and the feares,
 And the ceremonies, to be otherwise.

Folio: 'So, in the name of Iesu Christ, speake fewer: it is the greatest *admiration* in the universall World, when the true and aunchient Prerogatifes and *Lawes* of the Warres is not kept: if you would *take the paines but to examine* the Warres of Pompey the Great, you shall finde, I warrant you, that there is no tiddle tadle nor pibble bable *in Pompeyes Campe*: I warrant you, you shall finde the Ceremonies *of the Warres*, and the Cares of it, and the *Formes of it, and the Sobrietie of it, and the Modestie of it*, to be otherwise.

When Fluellen protests against the killing of the "boys and the luggage" in Act IV, scene vii, lines 1-2, it is in the Folio only that you find the statement, " 'Tis expressly against the Law of Armes," and there are other instances of the expansion of the same theme.

Another theme which does not appear in the Quarto and has apparently been deliberately added to the Folio is found in Act II, scenes i and iii. There is in the Quarto no statement on the part of Falstaff's followers that Falstaff's death is due to the king's rejection of him; whereas in the Folio the idea is clearly brought out. This type of difference between Quarto and Folio, though appearing in my judgment throughout, is more easily detected in the comic parts. Note, for example, the appearance in the Folio only of Pistol's league of amity with Nym on the ground that they will be "yoke-fellows in arms" in France, "like horse-leeches, my boys, to suck, to suck, the very blood to suck" (II, i, iii).

A similar significance must be attached to those passages, and there are a number of them, in which in both Quarto and Folio the text is complete and intelligible, but the meaning is entirely different. Such differences are always more readily explained as revisions, for in every case the sense of the Folio version seems to be in line with the superior conceptions of the author which themselves appear only in the Folio.

As a first example, let us take the first few lines of the Hostess's

account of the death of Falstaff (II, iii, 5-28). The Quarto introduces the Hostess's speech thus:

Bar. Well sir Iohn is gone, God be with him.

Host. I, he is in Arthors bosome, if ever any were, . . .

Bardolf's pious ejaculation is a basis for her faith. "Yes," she says, "God is with him; he's in Arthur's bosom." In the Folio we find something exactly opposite. Pistol says, "Falstaffe hee is dead, and wee musterne therefore."

Bard. Would I were with him, wheresomere hee is, eyther in Heaven, or in Hell.

Host. Nay, sure, hee's not in Hell: hee's in Arthurs Bosome, if ever any man went to Arthurs Bosome: a made a finer end, and went away and it had been any Christome Child.

In one case she agrees that he is in heaven, and in the other she denies vigorously that he is in hell, going on then to elaborate the thought of the beauty and innocence of Sir John's death.

Another very interesting example may be found in the wooing scene (V, ii, 188-205). Henry resolves to embark on the French language in order to answer Katharine's question as to whether it is possible for her to love the enemy of France.

Quarto: No Kate. Why Ile tell you in French, which will hang
Upon my tongue, like a bride on her new married husband.
Let me see, St. Dennis be my speed.

Quan France et mon.

Kate. Dat is, when France is yours.

Harry. et vous ettes amoy.

Kate. And I am to you.

Harry. Douck (done) France et a vous.

Kate. Den France sall be mine.

Harry. Et Ie suyues a vous.

Kate. And you will be to me.

Harry. Wilt beleewe me Kate? Tis easier for me
To conquer the kingdome then to speak so much French.

Kate. Your Majesty has false France inough
To deceive de best Lady in France.

Harry. No faith Kate not I.

In this dialogue Kate takes an active part, as she does throughout the Quarto scene; whereas the Kate of the Folio, here and throughout the scene, is more reticent and ceremonious. In this dialogue she lets the king struggle through his speech unassisted; and, when he has finished, she remarks politely in widely familiar words, "Sauf vostre honeur, le Francois ques vous parleis, il & melieus que l'anglois quel Ie parle."⁶

⁶ The French portions of the play show the same indications of revision, both in minor amplifications and in apparently deliberate changes of mean-

The second consideration which I wish to advance in support of the opinion that the Folio version of *Henry V* is a revision of the Quarto version is that in the Quarto the realistic and comic parts seem to be written in verse, which can usually, in spite of the corruption of the text, be arranged in iambic pentameter lines and scanned; whereas in the Folio many of these passages have been definitely turned into prose. The fact that the Quarto is printed as verse has perhaps little significance, and it is not always possible to be sure we are dealing with verse and not with prose; but there are enough clear cases to warrant the statement that a scene originally in verse may easily have been rewritten as prose but that it is inconceivable, or at least extremely improbable, that a scene originally in prose should have been abridged in such a way as to be turned into verse.

Before I illustrate the situation as regards verse and prose in the two versions of the play let me call attention to the fact that comic and realistic scenes in the earlier historical plays of Shakespeare were frequently composed in verse. We still have the obvious case of the Falconbridge scenes in *King John*, and the work of Professor E. A. Morgan⁷ has made it clear that some at least of the comic scenes in 1 and 2 *Henry IV* were originally composed in verse and in the extant versions of those plays have been rewritten in prose.

Professor Morgan tells us that there were two plays having most of their comic scenes in verse which stood midway between the original of *The Famous Victories of King Henry the Fifth* and 1 and 2 *Henry IV* as they have been preserved. These intermediary plays he describes as "Oldcastle plays," because in them Falstaff bore the name of Oldcastle.⁸ The effect of my comparison

ing. It might be thought from the appearance of the French in the Quarto that it is a mere unintelligible jumble, but in point of fact the sense can be made out without great difficulty. It has been written phonetically; probably, one would judge, for utterance by actors who did not know how to pronounce French when spelled conventionally. Professor James F. Royster sends me the following note: "I notice in Hollyband's *French Schoole-maister* (ed. 1573) that he gives directions for reading by way of phonetic illustration. On page 27, for instance: '*On a dit ainsi*: pronounce *on na di tinsi . . . bon or et bon argent*: say *bon nor et bon nargent*'; on page 25: '*Comment s'appelle-il?* say *sapelle ti?*' The point under the *t* in *et* is used consistently in Hollyband's books to indicate the silent letter."

⁷ *Some Problems of Shakespeare's 'Henry the Fourth.'* By E. A. Morgan. The Shakespeare Association. London: Milford, 1924.

⁸ One of Professor Morgan's tests is the observation of the metrical effect of substituting "Oldcastle" for "Falstaff" when it occurs in a line of verse.

is to align *Henry V* with its immediate predecessors in the cycle. I should be disposed to regard the Quarto version of *Henry V* as roughly in the same stage of development as the hypothetical "Oldcastle plays." It must, however, be pointed out at once that the revision of verse into prose in the Folio version of *Henry V* is by no means so thoroughgoing as that carried out in the *Henry the Fourth* plays. There is much verse still embedded in the apparent prose of the Folio version, but very often the transformation is clear enough. I have been unable to find any echoes of verse in the scene of the Welshman, the Irishman, and the Scotchman (III, ii, 81-153) and in other prose passages for which there is no parallel in the Quarto,⁹ the inference being that these passages are in prose dating from the time of the revision.

There is no space in this paper for extended illustration of the transformation of verse in the Quarto to prose in the Folio. The following passage from the Quarto is probably in as perfect blank verse as any that can be found in that version of the play:

Every mans service is the kings:
But every mans soule is his owne. Therefore
I would have every souldier examine himselfe,
And wash every moath out of his conscience:
That in so doing, he may be the readier for death:
Or not dying, why the time was well spent,
Wherein such preparation was made.

In the Folio (IV, i, 186-94) the thought is expanded and the passage is made into prose:

Every *Subjects Dutie* is the Kings, but every *Subjects Soule* is his owne. Therefore *should* every Souldier in the Warres do as every sicke man in his Bed, wash every Moth out of his Conscience: and dying so, Death is to him advantage; or not dying, the time was *blessedly lost*, wherein such preparation was *gayned*: and in him that escapes, it were not sinne to thinke, that making

There is not much evidence of this character to be found in the Quarto, but it is not wholly negligible. The name Falstaff occurs only twice in the Folio: Act II, sc. iii, l. 6, where it is represented in the Quarto by "Sir John"; and in Act IV, sc. vii, l. 53, where the passage has been turned into prose, and the Quarto presents the following possible arrangement:

Flu. I am forget his name.

Gow. Sir John Falstaffe.

Flu. I, I thinke it is Sir John Falstaffe indeed.

The second line has one too many syllables. If the word "Oldcastle," which is the usual form, be substituted for "Sir John Falstaffe," the verse is corrected. I wish to acknowledge gratefully Professor Morgan's assistance in the consideration of this point.

⁹ See, for example, the soliloquies of the Boy (III, ii, 31-58, and IV, iv, 71-83), Gower's speech to Pistol (V, i, 73-83), and somewhat extensive parts of the king's conversation with Bates and Williams in Act IV, scene i, ll. 95-115 (except certain bits toward the end), 121-39, 180-5.

God so free an offer, he let him outlive that day, to see his Greatnesse, and to teach others how they should prepare.

The reading of the Quarto as blank verse is, however, frequently a much more difficult matter,¹⁰ and I shall select as my final illustration a passage of very considerable difficulty, that is, the description of the death of Falstaff.

Quarto: *Host. I, he is in Arthors bosom, if ever any were:*
 He went away as if it were a crysombd childe,
 Betweene twelve and one, | Iust at turning of the tide;
 his nose was as sharpe as a pen: | For when I saw
 him fumble with the sheetes, | And talke of floures,
 and smile upon his fingers ends, | I knew there was
 no way but one. | How now sir Iohn quoth I?
 And he cryed three times, God, God, God.
 Now I to comfort him, bad him not think
 of God, | I hope there was no such need.
 Then he bad me put more cloathes at his feete:
 And I felt to them, and they were as cold as any stone:
 And to his knees, and they were as cold as any stone,
 And so upward, and upward, and all was as cold as any stone.¹¹

Folio: *Nay sure, hee's not in Hell: hee's in Arthurs Bosome, if ever any man went to Arthurs Bosome: a made a finer end, and went away and it had beene any Christome Child: a parted even iust betweene Twelve and One, eu'n at the turning o'th'Tyde: for after I saw him fumble with the Sheets, and play with Flowers, and smile upon his fingers end, I knew there was but one way: for his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields. How now Sir Iohn (quoth I?) what man? be a good cheare: so a cryed out, God, God, God, three or foure times: now I, to comfort him, bid him a should not thinke of God; I hop'd there was no neede to trouble himselfe with any such thoughts yet: so a bad me lay more Clothes on his feet: I put my hand into the Bed, and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone: then I felt to his knees, and so vp-peer'd, and upward, and all was as cold as any stone.*

If one observes the difference of the Folio from the Quarto, it will be seen that, not only are the lines broken up in meter (as in *He cryed out three times, God, God, God*, which becomes *A cryed out God, God, God, three or foure times*); but the movement becomes that of prose, as in the sentence, *I hop'd there was no neede to trouble himselfe with any such thoughts yet*.

Without entering into the detail of the old argument between Nicholson and Daniel, we have suggested two additional reasons for believing that the text of *Henry V* as it appears in the Folio

¹⁰ It is usually possible to scan the speeches of the Ancient Pistol in both Quarto and Folio, and the longer ones are printed as verse by modern editors of the Folio text.

¹¹ The first line has six feet in it at best; in the second, one must read *as if it were* as two syllables; in the third, one reads *'twene* for *Betweene* and syncopates *Iust at* and *-ing of the*; in the sixth, read *on's* for *upon his*,—all of which, considering the quality of Hostess's utterance, are probably allowable. The last three lines require even greater syncopation, but they maintain the rhythm.

is a revision of the text as it appears in the Quarto. We have suggested that the Folio develops and amplifies certain themes and introduces new ones of its own and that these themes are interwoven with the text of the Folio in such a way as to render it improbable that they would, on the assumption that the Quarto is an abridgment of the Folio, have been omitted by chance or specially selected for excision; also that, in various parallel passages where the texts of both versions are intelligible, there are differences in sense in which, as Nicholson pointed out, the Folio is an improvement on the Quarto. We have also argued that revision will account for the fact that many passages in the Folio now in obvious prose, or in something closely approximating it, stand in the Quarto in blank verse.

In conclusion I should like to suggest, without going into detail, that the manuscript from which the Quarto was printed was a genuine manuscript of the play, illegible in places and probably torn, but not the product of shorthand reporting and not showing the unmistakable characteristics of the work of a pirate-actor, as outlined by Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. The manuscript of the Quarto may have left the hands of the owners as early as 1593, as these scholars have suggested. I see no final objection to this. It must, however, be remembered that the Quarto, just as it stands, presupposes in detail *1 and 2 Henry IV*, or at least the lost "Oldcastle plays." The Quarto adds also to the perplexity which arises from the promise of the Epilogue to *2 Henry IV* that "our humble author will continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France: where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a' be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldecastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." Certainly, in the present state of my knowledge, I have some hesitancy in shoving the whole group, even in their earlier forms, back to the year 1593.

A STUDY OF TERENCE'S PROLOGUES¹

By ROY C. FLICKINGER[†]
State University of Iowa

For the premieres of Terence's plays, including the two unsuccessful attempts with the *Hecyra*, the opinion of scholars now seems to be fairly well agreed upon the following dates and chronological sequence.²

Andria, April fourth, 166 B.C., *ludi Megalenses*.

Hecyra I, April fourth, 165 B.C., *ludi Megalenses* (unsuccessful).

Heauton, April fourth, 163 B.C., *ludi Megalenses*.

Eunuchus, April fourth, 161 B.C., *ludi Megalenses*.

Phormio, September fourth, 161 B.C., *ludi Romani*.

Hecyra II, 160 B.C., *ludi funerales* in honor of L. Aemilius Paulus (second failure).³

Adelphoe, 160 B.C., *ludi funerales* for Paulus.³

Hecyra III, September fourth, 160 B.C., *ludi Romani* (a complete hearing at last!)

* Each of these comedies has associated with it a "detached" prologue, and in fact the *Hecyra* has two, which were evidently written for the second and third performances respectively. For the premiere of this play apparently either no prologue was provided⁴ or it has failed of transmission. Now it need surprise no one upon reading for the first time the prologue to the *Andria* to be told that many scholars are convinced that these verses could not have been

¹ Read before the American Philological Association at Harvard University, December 29, 1926.

² For example, cf. Ashmore's *Comedies of Terence* (1908), pp. 29f., the fourth edition of *Phormio* (1913) by Dziatzko-Hauley, pp. 15f., and Norwood, *The Art of Terence* (1923), p. 6. Fabia's attempt to place the *Eunuchus* before the *Heauton*, though resting in part upon ancient evidence, has gained little favor; cf. *Les Prologues de Térence* (1888), pp. 36-43, and his edition of *Eunuchus* (1895), pp. 61f. The older literature was systematically assembled in the introduction to the Dziatzko-Hauley *Phormio*. Consequently I have deemed it proper to restrict the bibliography in my notes to specific references.

³ For the sequence of these two plays, see p. 266, below.

⁴ So Donatus; cf. Wessner, II, 192. Donatus' statement is perhaps a mere inference from the fact that he found no such prologue in his Terence manuscripts. At the same time the fact that two prologues are preserved for this play does create a presumption that there never was a third.

composed for the first representation of Terence's first play but only for a subsequent repetition; and so the earliest prologue of them all would prove to be that of the *Heauton*.

ANDRIA

The arguments against supposing that the *Andria* prologue was intended for the first rendition of this piece are chiefly two: In the first place, exception is taken to the use of the plural in the words,

in prologis scribundis operam abutitur (vs. 5),

if this were in fact the first prologue that Terence ever wrote. But it cannot be conceded that an argument based upon such a generalized statement carries much weight. It is too easy to explain the plural as an example of a common grammatical usage or on the basis of metrical convenience or by the supposition that Terence had drafted several prologues for the *Andria* before he found one to suit him. Moreover, Töpfer rightly detected a trace of contempt in the use of the plural here.⁵ Finally, Terence was inclined to a certain expansiveness of phrase which led him to make a summer out of a few swallows; cf., for example, *Heauton* vss. 17f.:

multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit
paucas Latinas.⁶

The other argument seems, at first glance, to be more convincing:⁷ Since Terence's enemies could not have criticized his first comedy until they had seen it performed, it was impossible that he could have replied to their criticism in a prologue intended for the first appearance of his play. "Daran kann kein unbefangener Leser zweifeln. Der Prolog ist weder für ein Anfangsstück noch von einem Anfänger und er ist geschrieben nachdem der Verfasser mit diesem oder einem anderen Stücke traurige Erfahrungen gemacht hat."⁸ The weakness of this argument lies in its premise: as a matter of fact, Terence himself refers to the entrée which his foes secured to a rehearsal of his *Eunuchus* only a few years later

⁵ Cf. *Hermes* LI (1916), p. 154 and n. 1. Töpfer also saw a significant difference between the present tenses in this prologue as contrasted with the perfect tenses (or historical presents) in *Hecyra* vss. 1f., 30, 34, and 36-42, where an earlier performance is certainly referred to (*op. cit.*, pp. 152f.).

⁶ See p. 243, below.

⁷ At least I was once persuaded by it; cf. *Classical Philology* II (1907), 159. My main argument in that paper is not affected by my present change of opinion as to this detail.

⁸ Cf. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*² (1912), p. 100, n. 2.

and to the use which they made of the information so secured (*Eunuchus*, vss. 21ff.), and it is easy to surmise that this could still more easily have been effected at a time when the young playwright did not have even a single success to his credit.⁹

In this connection it seems to me that too little use has been made of *Phormio* vss. 1-3 and of the well-known anecdote in the *Vita* (Wessner, I, 4f.). In the former,

Postquam poëta vetus poëtam non potest
retrahere a studio et transdere hominem in otium,
maledictis deterrere ne scribat parat,

two distinct stages in the campaign of Luscius Lanuvinus against Terence are recognized: *postquam . . . otium*, and *maledictis . . . parat*. In my opinion, the best clew to the understanding of this situation is afforded by the following passage in the *Vita*:

Scripsit comoedias sex, ex quibus primam Andriam cum aedilibus daret, iussus ante Caecilio recitare ad cenantem cum venisset, dicitur initium quidem fabulae, quod erat contemptiore vestitu, subsellio iuxta lectulum residens legisse, post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet cenasse una, dein cetera percucurrisse non sine magna Caecilii admiratione.

But a discrepancy has been found here in the fact that Caecilius is reported in Hieronymus' *Chronicle* to have died in 168 B.C., two years before the *Andria* was brought out; and authorities are divided as to whether the story ought to be rejected as spurious or the text of Hieronymus emended so as to prolong Caecilius' life for two or three years beyond 168 B.C.

Neither recourse is needed, and in truth the interval of two years affords the very clew which is required to unravel the course of events. Terence's *contemptiore vestitu* in the anecdote and the initial reserve with which Caecilius is said to have received him show that the youthful poet had not yet made the powerful contacts with which he was afterwards credited. For use at one of the festivals in 168 B.C., perhaps at the *ludi Romani* in September, Terence tried to sell his first play to the aediles. But there were also others who had plays to sell and who, possibly at first with no further animus¹⁰ against, or knowledge of, the newcomer, were quick to attempt to advance their own interests by pointing out to the officials that he was young, that he was only a freedman,

⁹ See further, p. 238, below.

¹⁰ Sihler, however, has suggested that Terence did not belong to the Collegium Poetarum and that the hostility which sought not only to block his progress but even to blacken his memory after his death came from members of that guild; cf. *American Journal of Philology* XXVI (1905), 8-13.

that his shabby clothing showed that he was still no one of consequence, that he had no record or reputation—in a word (*Heauton* vs. 23), that

repente ad studium hunc se adplicasse musicum.

It was doubtless their suggestion, for the purpose of further delay, that Terence be required to present himself and his comedy to the scrutiny of Caecilius, whose advancing age and consequent feebleness probably deferred the interview until all possibility of having the piece accepted for that festival had disappeared. The distant reception which Caecilius accorded the young aspirant for dramatic fame is not only natural under the circumstances but may well be interpreted as reflecting the propaganda which had been directed upon him by Terence's detractors. The golden opinions which he immediately¹¹ formed of the playwright's merits unfortunately buttered no parsnips, for Caecilius died before the year was out and before his influence could be effectively exerted for the festivals of the following year. We must therefore suppose that Terence was equally unsuccessful in securing a chance for his play in 167 B.C.¹² This, then, is the period to which I refer *Phormio*, vss. 1f., where the *poeta vetus* is charged with attempting to keep Terence out of the profession (*studio*) and drive him into unemployment (*in otium*).

In 166 B.C., however, Terence's fortunes brightened. One of the consuls for that year was C. Sulpicius Gallus, said to have been a *homo doctus*, who was thus in a position not only to appreciate the poet but also to bring real influence to bear upon the curule aediles of the year; and Santra in the *Vita* (Wessner, I, 7) was doubtless correct in detecting a relationship between this man and the successful launching of Terence's career. Lanuvinus and his coadjutors were therefore driven into the second of the two stages as differentiated in *Phormio*, vss. 1-3, and undertook to justify their own activities up to this point by a campaign of defamation¹³ against Terence's play such as they hoped would insure its failure. For this purpose, if we may judge from the *Andria* prologue, they

¹¹ The difficulties which Caecilius had himself encountered in establishing himself might well have made him sympathetic towards other beginners in like circumstances; cf. *Hecyra*, vss. 14-27 and p. 268, below.

¹² It will be noted that two years of enforced idleness elapsed also between the fiasco with the *Hecyra* in 165 B. C. and the performance of the *Heauton* in 163 B.C.

¹³ *Maledictis*; cf. *Phormio*, vs. 3, *Andria*, vs. 7, and *Heauton*, vs. 34.

seem to have rested their case upon the charge of *contaminatio*; and in so doing it was not at all necessary that they await the actual appearance of the play upon the stage. The two years or more which had gone by since Terence had first presented himself and the fact that his manuscript must have passed under the scrutinizing eyes, not always friendly, of a constantly enlarging group of officials and their advisers rendered it altogether possible that any one who might be interested could learn so simple and fundamental a fact regarding the new comedy as that it was compounded out of two plays by Menander. Accordingly the welkin was made to ring with the cry that it was no longer proper to do this thing (*contaminari non decere fabulas*; *Andria*, vs. 16). It will be noted that in this prologue this is the only charge against himself to which Terence alludes or to which he makes a reply; and I have shown that it is a reply which could naturally have been made immediately before the premiere performance, as being directed against a charge which was already in active circulation. Be it further noted that Terence's defense at this time was not only more concrete and satisfactory than in any subsequent prologue but it was also, though sharp, the most polite in its tone.¹⁴ There is therefore every reason to believe that it preceded the others in date of composition.

This conclusion finds further confirmation in a fact which sometimes seems to have been strangely overlooked in the discussion of this topic. In the *Andria* prologue Terence expressly warns his foes that, if they continue their policy, he will retaliate in kind:

¹⁴ Contrast the greater restraint and explicitness of *Andria*, vss. 17ff.:

faciuntve intelligendo ut nil intellegant?
qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium Plautum Ennium
accusant, quos hic noster auctores habet,
quorum aemulari exoptat neelegantiam
potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam

with the defiant boldness, even on a critical occasion, of *Heauton*, vss. 16ff.:

nam quod rumores distulerunt malivoli,
multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit
paucas Latinas: id esse factum hic non negat
neque se pigere et deinde facturum autumat.
habet bonorum exemplum, quo exemplo sibi
licere id facere quod illi fecerunt putat.

The vagueness of *bonorum exemplum* in the later prologue, as opposed to the exactness of *Naevium*, *Plautum*, *Ennium* in the earlier one, is understandable only upon the assumption that the fuller phrase had already been employed. In *Eunuchus*, vss. 23ff., and *Adelphoe*, vss. 6ff., the charge of *contaminatio* is swallowed up in the grosser offence of "plagiarism" (*furtum*); see below.

dehinc ut quiescant porro moneo et desinant
male dicere, malefacta ne noscant sua
(*Andria*, vss. 22f.).

This threat is put into effect in *Heauton*, vss. 30-34, *Eunuchus*, vss. 7-19, and *Phormio*, vss. 6-8, all of which must, therefore, have been composed subsequently to the *Andria* prologue. It is unthinkable that such a warning could have been issued if the concrete criticism embodied in *Heauton*, vss. 31f., had already been uttered. This passage alone, in my judgment, ought to be sufficient to condemn Karsten's contention that this prologue was written for a second performance of the *Andria* in 162 B.C., a full year after the *Heauton* prologue.¹⁵

Finally, though I do not desire to labor the point, I agree with those¹⁶ who can not recognize in the last line of the *Andria* prologue any reference to a defeat which the poet had suffered and which could only have been the unfortunate premiere of the *Hecyra* in 165 B.C. In

favete, adeste aequo animo et rem cognoscite,
ut pernoscatis ecquid spei sit reliquum,
posthac quas faciet de integro comoedias,
spectandae an exigendae sint vobis prius (vss. 24ff.)

spectandae and *exigendae* are simply a natural, almost an inevitable, dichotomy, and *exigendae* does not imply that the playwright had already tasted the bitterness of defeat. No argument can fairly be squeezed out of this passage to support the view that this prologue was written for a second performance of the *Andria*. On the contrary, I am of the opinion that these lines could not have been addressed to an audience all of whom had already sampled the quality of the poet's dramatic art either by their own attendance upon a previous performance or indirectly from the report of those who had done so.

¹⁵ Cf. *Mnemosyne* XXII (1894), 186ff. Karsten ingeniously sought to evade this difficulty by splitting the *Heauton* prologue into two, one of which he supposes to have been delivered at the first performance of this play and the other (including vss. 28-34), which he would assign to an assumed second performance of the *Heauton* in 161 B.C., a year after the supposed second performance of the *Andria*. Τὰ πολλὰ σε γράμματα εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπει. It must be supposed that some scholars have carelessly accepted Karsten's theory that the *Andria* prologue belonged to a second performance in 162 B.C. without being conscious of what a burden was thereby imposed upon their credulity with regard to the *Heauton* prologue.

¹⁶ Cf., for example, Fabia, *Les Prologues*, pp. 31f. and Töpfer, "Der Andriaprolog des Terenz," *Hermes* LI (1916), 150ff. Fabia's masterly analysis of the *Andria* prologue is absolutely convincing in its lucidity (*op. cit.*, pp. 32f.).

HECYRA I

Terence's success with the *Andria* in 166 B.C. not only enabled him to get the *Hecyra* accepted for performance a twelvemonth later but also must have caused him to approach this festival with a certain degree of confidence. Nevertheless, beyond the bare facts of the *Andria*'s being accepted for the festival and the performance carried through to the *plaudite*, we have no means of knowing just how enthusiastically it had been received. There was perhaps enough coolness in the popular acclaim to render Terence cautious. At any rate he not only refrained from executing his threat to expose the dramatic sins of Lanuvinus but even, if Donatus and the manuscript tradition are to be trusted, abstained from writing a prologue at all. He went further than that in placating, or at least avoiding additional irritation to, the *vetus poëta*. Although he had practiced *contaminatio* in the *Andria* and had defended the practice in his prologue to that play and although two years later he was to say that he "did not regret having done it and would do it thereafter" (*Heauton*, vss. 18f.), nevertheless neither in ancient tradition nor in modern research has any reason appeared to believe that the *Hecyra* was contaminated. All the greater, then, must have been the poet's disappointment that his audience was stampeded by the opportunity of seeing a rope-dancer (*Hecyra*, vs. 4), or by the other distractions mentioned in the prologue written for the third presentation (vss. 33-35), so that the performance had to be abandoned.

HEAUTON TIMORUMENOS

Terence's affairs were now in a situation so desperate that, according to the traditional development of his career, he had to wait two whole years for a chance to exhibit another piece before the Roman public; and when the chance came, he used it very differently than at the presentation of the *Hecyra*. This time he not only wrote a prologue but one that was extraordinarily bold in its expressions. Under the circumstances this boldness is so remarkable that it requires some explanation. In this prologue, after certain introductory matters, with which I shall deal later on, he referred to three topics as to which he almost fiercely threw down the gauntlet to his foes.

In the first place, his critics were evidently still harping upon

his having employed *contaminatio* three years before, and so he pays his respects to that subject in the following words:

nam quod rumores distulerunt malivoli,
multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit
paucas Latinas: id esse factum hic non negat
neque se pigere et deinde facturum autumat.
habet bonorum exemplum, quo exemplo sibi
licere id facere quod illi fecerunt putat (vss. 16-21).

The bluntness of these words almost strikes us in the face: he freely admits, what he could not very well have denied, that he had been guilty of the charge; but he expressly disavows any regret for his conduct and declares that he will not scruple to repeat the offence. Moreover, though he signifies that he has had distinguished predecessors, he does not deign, as in the *Andria* prologue (vs. 18), to mention their names. The only thing that was lacking was that the play that was to follow should itself furnish another exemplification of this practice, but for that act of boldness he seems to have waited another twelvemonth. There is no hint from antiquity that the *Heauton* was contaminated, and few modern scholars have ventured to commit themselves to this point of view. Perhaps the latest was Skutsch,¹⁷ who derived this idea from vs. 6 of the prologue but was wise enough not to attempt to test it by analyzing the plot: "Aber auch darauf verzichte ich, im Stücke selbst die Spuren der Kontamination nachzuweisen. . . . so sind die Anstösse, die man an der Führung der Handlung nehmen kann, doch, soweit ich gesehen habe, nicht der Art, dass sie gerade aus Kontamination hergeleitet werden müssten" (*op. cit.*, p. 8). It is too bad that Rötter¹⁸ could not have had the benefit of this sensible judgment.

It is perhaps of a piece with Terence's defiant attitude in this matter that he departs from his regular practice by failing to give the name of the author of the Greek original and that he uses an expression,

duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici (vs. 6),

which would at first seem to imply that he had enlarged the Greek play by adding a secondary plot. (See pp. 251 ff., below).

The words

¹⁷ Cf. "Der Prolog zum Hautontimorumenos des Terenz," *Philologus* LIX (1900), pp. 1-8.

¹⁸ Cf. *De Heautontimorumeni Terentiana*, Bayreuth, 1892. Köhler, *De Hautontimorumeni Terentianae Compositione*, Leipzig, 1908, rejected the theory of contamination in the *Heauton*.

multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit
 paucas Latinas (vss. 17f.)

have given offence to many, and provided one of the arguments which induced Fabia¹⁹ to believe that the *Eunuchus*, also a contaminated play, belonged ahead of the *Heauton*. That Terence had written few Latin plays no one could deny—only two, or possibly merely one, if a piece could not be counted as “made” until it had been completely performed. How many Greek plays did he use up in the process? Besides the original of the *Hecyra*, Menander’s *Andria* and *Perinthia* were combined to form Terence’s *Andria*; and, in addition, the secondary rôles of Charinus and Byrria were foreign to both plays and were added by Terence²⁰ either by independent invention or by adaptation from still another source. These are enough to occasion the taunt of Terence’s critics, and the addition to the number of the two plays combined in the *Eunuchus* would not greatly assist the situation, even if such a pushing forward of that piece’s premiere were possible on other grounds. The charge as worded is plainly an exaggeration, whether by Terence’s enemies in overstating the facts or by Terence himself in seeking to weaken their criticism by couching it in an obviously hyperbolic form. Whatever Lanuvinus and his friends may have said in the first place, it is well to recognize that Terence did not shrink at times from expressing himself rather broadly.²¹

Passing over the second topic (vss. 22-27) for a moment, let us consider the third point as developed in vss. 28-34:

facite aequi sitis, date crescendi copiam,
 novarum qui spectandi faciunt copiam
 sine vitiis. ne ille pro se dictum existumet,
 qui nuper fecit servo currenti in via
 decesse populum: quor insano serviat?
 eius de peccatis plura dicet, quom dabit
 alias novas, nisi finem maledictis facit.

It is evident that in these words, after three years of forbearance, Terence has at length fulfilled the warning uttered in *Andria*, vss. 22f., and carried the war into the enemy’s country,²² at the same

¹⁹ Cf. *Les Prologues*, pp. 47f.

²⁰ So Donatus; cf. Wessner, I, 118.

²¹ See p. 236, above.

²² It is not altogether clear in just what particular what Terence criticised in Lanuvinus differed from such a scene, for example, as Plautus, *Curculio*, vss. 280-98. [“If Terence could find no worse fault in the works of the old poet than that, he must have been hard up for a stone to throw,” Phillimore in *Classical Review* XXIX (1915), p. 172.] Perhaps the very point of Ter-

time threatening to add more to the measure at subsequent occasions, as was actually done in *Eunuchus*, vss. 1-19 and *Phormio*, vss. 6-11.

We may now return to the second topic, as stated in vss. 22-27:

tum quod malivulus vetus poëta dictitat,
repente ad studium hunc se adplicasse musicum,
amicum ingenio fretum, haud natura sua:
arbitrium vostrum, vostra existumatio
valebit. qua re oratos omnis vos volo,
ne plus iniquom possit quam aequom oratio.

As we have already seen, the sentiment in vs. 23 is an echo of the arguments with which Lanuvinus had tried to prevent the acceptance of Terence's first play and to nip his career in the bud. With the amplification given in vs. 24, we find here one of the means employed by the *vetus poëta*, in the second stage of his attacks, to harass the young playwright and deprive him of whatever credit he might otherwise achieve. It is a striking fact that to such a charge vss. 25f. constitute no defense whatsoever; and *Adelphoe*, vss. 18-21, which we shall examine in due time, practically register a plea of guilty. This peculiar feature of the situation did not escape attention in antiquity, as the *Vita* shows:

non obscura fama est adiutum Terentium in scriptis a Laelio et Scipione, eamque ipse auxit numquam nisi leviter refutare conatus, ut in prologo *Adelphorum* [quoting vss. 15-21]. Videtur autem levius <se> defendisse, quia sciebat et Laelio et Scipioni non ingratam esse hanc opinionem, quae tum magis et usque ad posteriora tempora valuit. C. Memmius in oratione pro se ait 'P. Africanus, qui a Terentio personam mutuatus, quae domi luserat ipse, nomine illius in scaenam detulit.'²³

The *Heauton* prologue gives no clew and the *Adelphoe* prologue almost none as to the identity of the friends from whom Terence is charged with receiving assistance; but these sentences from the *Vita* make plain that they were generally thought to have been Laelius and Scipio, and in this opinion antiquity was all but unanimous. The one exception was Santra, whose position is represented in the *Vita* as follows:

Santra Terentium existimat si modo in scribendo adiutoribus indiguerit, non tam Scipione et Laelio uti potuisse, qui tunc adulescentuli fuerint, quam

ence's strategy was to trick Lanuvinus into defending himself on the basis of the precedent established by the presence of such scenes in Plautus. Whereupon Terence could have crushed him by inquiring, "Why, then, do you criticise me when I, too, take a leaf out of Plautus' book by following his example in the use of *contaminatio*?"

²³ Cf. Wessner, I, 6. The context immediately following will be quoted on p. 246.

C. Sulpicio Gallo, homine docto et quo consule Megalensibus ludis initium fabularum dandarum fecerit, vel Q. Fabio Labeone et M. Popillio, consulari utroque ac poeta (Wessner, I, 6f.).

I have already indicated (p. 238, above) that I believe Santra to have been right in associating Gallus, consul in 166 B.C., with Terence's success in getting the *Andria* played in that year, despite all that the opposition could do. Whether Gallus was charged with assisting the new poet in his dramatic endeavors is doubtful, but at any rate the two-year wait after the *Hecyra's* first failure shows that his friend was for some reason no longer available, perhaps by this time was dead. By the same token, Laelius and Scipio, with the powerful support which they might have enlisted for the poet, could not yet have been interested in his success, or at least not until the very close of this interval. But I do think that it was the beginning of close friendship with these youths, shortly before the premiere of the *Heauton*, that is needed to explain how he got another chance after his disaster with the *Hecyra* and how he dared to assume the defiant attitude which characterizes the *Heauton* prologue.

To what degree he may have received their aid, it is needless to inquire, and Terence's words must not be forced to bear a construction which he never intended should be put upon them; but few have thought that the relationship was such as the "cipher enthusiasts" suppose to have existed between Shakespeare and Bacon. It was all to Terence's advantage to have it widely believed that he profited, to whatever degree, from the help of these *adulescentuli*, and he is careful not to discourage the rumor. In fact, the mystery engendered by his vagueness was in itself an excellent piece of publicity.

My belief that this friendship dates from early in 163 B.C. or late in 164 B.C. helps to explain the situation also in another direction. Scipio was born in 185 B.C. and would have been twenty-two years of age at the time of the *Heauton* premiere.²⁴ Laelius was about a year older. At such an age, young as it was, they may much more plausibly be thought of as able to assist, not only in literary matters but also in the exercise of influence,²⁵ than if the

²⁴ Terence was probably ten years older; cf. Dziatzko-Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 2, where the textual problem involved is discussed.

²⁵ However, already in 167 B.C. Scipio, who was then eighteen, and his older brother Fabius had enough influence with the praetor to have Polybius left in Rome, when the other Achaean exiles were to be sent into the Etrurian cities, cf. Polyb. XXXII, 9. It is possible that Polybius had met them in

relationship must be reckoned from the time when the *Andria* was composed, certainly three and perhaps as much as five years before.

A bit of confirmation for the date which I favor as witnessing the beginning of this friendship, at least in any active sense, may be drawn from the anecdote which is found between the two passages of the *Vita* that have just been cited:

Nepos auctore certo comperisse se ait C. Laelium quondam in Puteolano Kalendis Martiis admonitum ab uxore, temperius ut discumberet, petisse ab ea ne interPELLARETUR seroque tandem ingressum triclinium dixisse non saepe in scribendo magis sibi successisse, deinde rogatum ut scripta illa proferret pronuntiassie versus qui sunt in Heautontimorumenon:

satis pol proterve me Syri promissa huc induxerunt (Wessner, I, 6)

The quotation is vs. 723 of the *Heauton*, the opening line of a scene in the fourth act (according to the traditional act-divisions). As stated, this story was derived from Nepos, who flourished only about a century after Terence's death and ascribed this story to a *certo auctore*, who may easily have been a contemporary and even an eye-witness. The precise significance of the tale, even if accepted at full value, can easily be disputed. I see no necessity for its meaning more than that Laelius was revising Terence's draft or at most attempting to rewrite a whole scene here or there in what Terence had sent him. But I am more interested in its bearing upon the date when the friendship between these men first became active. The *Heauton* was performed on the fourth of April, 163 B.C., and on the first of the preceding month²⁶ Laelius was feverishly engaged in revising the text. No wonder the dinner had to wait! If some one invented this anecdote, he was at least correctly in-

Greece, earlier in 167 B.C. or even in the previous year. Polybius states that the acquaintance resulted "from the use of books [probably referring to the library of King Perseus which Paulus turned over to his sons; cf. Plutarch, *Paulus*, 28] and from conversation about them" (ἐκ τινος χρήσεως βιβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων λαλιᾶς), and developed into intimacy when Scipio, as they were all leaving Fabius' house, quietly addressed the Greek as follows: "Why do you always direct your questions and opinions to my brother? Do you share the conviction of the citizens concerning me? For they look upon me as retiring and as having withdrawn from the traditional conduct and activities of a Roman, simply because I do not choose to plead cases, and they say that my house does not seek such a one to represent it but quite the opposite." In consequence of this protest Polybius thereafter attached himself continuously to Scipio (ibid. XXXII, 9f.). According to this anecdote, Scipio had already manifested literary tastes but was as yet overshadowed by his brother; furthermore, the "Scipionic circle" was still a thing of the future. These conclusions tend to confirm my opinion that Scipio did not become actively interested in Terence until somewhat later.

²⁶ March first of the preceding year would give too long an interval and would not explain Laelius' haste.

formed as to the period in which to place it. Terence's new boldness in the *Heauton* prologue can only be explained by supposing that it was at this period that Laelius and Scipio gave him support which he had not previously enjoyed.

So much for vss. 16-34 of the *Heauton* prologue. But there still remain controverted lines on either side of this passage. Let us first examine the opening verses:

- Nequoui sit vostrum mirum quos partis seni
poëta dederit quae sunt adulescentium,
id primum dicam, deinde quod veni eloquar.
ex integra Graeca integram comoediam
5 hodie sum acturus Heauton timorumenon,
duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici.
novam esse ostendi et quae esset. nunc qui scripserit
et quonia Graeca sit, ni partem maxumam
existumarem scire vostrum, id dicerem.
10 nunc quam ob rem has partis didicerim paucis dabo:
oratorem esse voluit me, non prologum;
vostrum iudicium fecit; me actorem dedit,
si hic actor tantum poterit a facundia
quantum ille potuit cogitare commode,
15 qui orationem hanc scripsit quam dicturus sum (vss. 1-15).

It was customary to have prologues spoken by some younger member of the company, but these lines make plain that this prologue was delivered by L. Ambivius Turpio, the veteran actor and stage manager who had already had two plays of Terence under his charge and was destined to serve in the same capacity for them all. In view of the fiasco which had befallen Terence's last piece and of his two years of eclipse, and more especially in view of the lengthy and bold reply which he was about to launch against his critics, the happy thought had occurred to Terence himself or to one of his friends of having this prologue delivered by a man of recognized dignity and influence. Of course, the alleged reason for this innovation was somewhat different from the real reasons, which grew out of the crisis in the poet's affairs: this was not to be a regular prologue but an *oratio* (vs. 15); consequently it required for its delivery not a young *prologus* but an accomplished *orator* (vs. 11) and *actor*²⁷ (vss. 11f.), endowed with an eloquent delivery (*facundia*, vs. 13)²⁸ equal to the felicity of phrase prepared for him by the playwright (*cogitare commode*, vs. 14). This

²⁷ Of course *actor* here does not mean "actor" but "pleader" or "advocate"; see commentaries *ad loc.*

²⁸ Cf. Skutsch, *Philologus* LIX (1900), p. 6: "... der Dichter habe einen *orator*, nicht einen *prologus* gewollt und darum nicht auf die Jahre des Prologsprechers, sondern auf seine *facundia* gesehen."

thought keeps recurring at intervals throughout the whole prologue, as we shall see.

The first difficulty presents itself at vs. 3. Does the phrase *id primum dicam* refer to the reason why an old man is taking a young man's part? And does the phrase *deinde quod veni eloquar* refer to the rest of the prologue apart from this explanation? In that case, vss. 4-9 are an impossible interruption to, even a complete reversal of, this sequence of topics; and as such they have occasioned a multiplicity of emendations, deletions, and transposition of lines on the part of numerous scholars. Parallels may easily be found to justify this interpretation of these phrases. Nevertheless, I do not accept it; but favor the theory advanced long ago by Richard Bentley (1727). He saw in these lines a contrast between the prologue as a whole and the play proper. He thought that Ambivius did not come before the audience in the conventional costume of a *prologus* but in the costume of Chremes²⁹ in which rôle, without change of dress and without retiring behind the scenes, he began the play immediately upon concluding the prologue. This device had also a strategic advantage in that it eliminated the pause which would usually occur at this point and which Terence's foes might have utilized for starting a disturbance. Parallels to *veni* in this sense may be found in Plautus, *Trinummus*, vs. 16:

senes qui huc venient, i rem vobis aperient

and Terence, *Adelphoe*, vss. 23f.:

senes qui primi venient, ei partem aperient,
in agendo partem ostendent.

This interpretation receives support also from later phrases in the *Heauton* prologue (see below) and has the supreme merit of obviating the unevennesses which have been discovered in the opening lines.³⁰

The next controversy has been waged over *ex integra . . . integram* in vs. 4. Skutsch insisted upon the etymological significance of *integer* as "untouched" (= *intactus*); cf. *Philologus* LIX (1900), p. 3. An "untouched" (*integra*) Greek play would then be one that had not yet been translated into Latin. There is ample support for such an interpretation and it has been generally adopt-

²⁹ Bentley should have said Menedemus; cf. Flickinger, *Classical Philology* II (1907), 162, n.

³⁰ For a further discussion of this interpretation, cf. Flickinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-62.

ed for the first of the two occurrences of the word here. In *Adelphoe*, vss. 9f., Plautus is said to have "left untouched" (*reliquit integrum*) a passage in Diphilus which he failed to translate and carelessly passed by (*praeteritus neclegentia*, vs. 14), when he was adopting that play to the Roman stage. This interpretation appears also in the scholia, which are perhaps derived from Donatus (his commentary upon the *Heauton* being now lost). Thus, *integra Graeca* is glossed by the Bembine scholia with *a nullo translata*³¹ and by Schlee's *Commentarius Antiquior* by *ex ipsa Menandri fabula intacta ab aliquo Latino*,³² while Eugraphius' commentary reads *ne videatur ab aliquo tacta*. (See below).

For the second occurrence of the word in this line there have naturally been not a few who adopted the same meaning as before. This procedure also enjoys precedent of long standing; thus on the lemma *integram*, the Bembine scholia read *novam*, in *s < caena nondum vi > sam*,³³ and Schlee's *Commentarius Antiquior* *quam nemo Latinus conscripsit hactenus stilo*. The trouble with this interpretation, however widely adopted, is that it makes the phrase

ex integra Graeca integram comoediam,

which strikes the eye and looks as if it ought to be powerful and significant, a mere piece of tautology. Moreover, we have no reason to believe that up to this time Terence had been accused of "plagiarism" (*furtum*; see pp. 259 and 264, below), whereas he *had* been criticised for *contaminatio* and it would therefore be strange not to find an allusion to that subject in this context.³⁴ But it is hard to see why an *integram comoediam* might not be one that was left untouched, i.e., uncontaminated, by Terence himself as easily as one that had been left untranslated by another Roman; and indeed the words *ne videatur . . . ipse alteram tetigisse* in Eugraphius' commentary (see below) show that this interpretation was also one of long standing.

Even if it be insisted that *integram* must bear the same meaning ("untranslated") here as *integra* in the same verse, it all comes to practically the same conclusion, anyhow. The Romans of this

³¹ Cf. *Hermes* II (1867), p. 363 (Umpfenbach).

³² Cf. Schlee, *Scholia Terentiana* (1893), p. 113.

³³ As emended by Studemund in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuch* XCVII (1868), p. 555.

³⁴ The discussion in vss. 16-21 is general and theoretical. What we miss is a specific reference to this play.

period had a curious convention by which they considered it "plagiarism" (*furtum*) to translate a Greek play which had already been translated. So far as we know, Terence had not yet been guilty of this practice, though he was soon to be. For contemporaneous scruples concerning this matter were so strict that even to introduce into one's play a single scene from a second comedy that had already been translated or merely to introduce a scene from a second comedy which had been translated as a whole but from the translation of which this particular scene had been omitted by the other Roman playwright, was still regarded as a *furtum* and a violation of professional ethics. Of the former offence Terence was to be guilty two years later in the *Eunuchus*, in the prologue to which he admits that to Menander's play of that name he had added the rôles of the *parasitus* and *miles gloriosus*, which Lanuvinus charged that he had derived from Menander's *Colax*, a play which had already been translated by Naevius.³⁵ Of the latter offence Terence was to become guilty in his last play, the *Adelphoe*, to which he added a scene from Diphilus' *Synapothnescontes*, which Plautus had passed by in translating that play (see above). Now in the light of contemporaneous feeling in this matter, it surely was not necessary for Terence, after having once stated that his play was from an untranslated Greek original (*ex integra Graeca*), to go on and assure his public that his play *as a whole* had never appeared in a Latin version. Not only would this have been tautology, but the thing itself would have been impossible in view of current practice and the state of Terence's fortunes. If *integram* in vs. 4 means "untranslated" and brings any new idea into the sentence at all, it can only be that Terence did not use as *any part* of his *Heauton* material which had already been translated into Latin. But this would also be, *ipso facto*, a denial of at least one way of contaminating his play.

Personally, however, I would go much further, maintaining that *integram* means that this play was "untouched" by Terence himself in the sense that he practiced no *contaminatio* at all by the use either of old material or of new. For this interpretation I see confirmation, as I have said, in Eugraphius' phrase, *ne videatur . . . ipse alteram tetigisse*. In fact the whole statement of the commentary at this point is so sensible and shows such an understanding of the situation that I now transcribe it in full:

³⁵ Cf. *Eunuchus*, vss. 19ff. and see the fuller discussion on p. 260, below.

quoniam Andria e duabus comoediis videtur esse confecta, quippe illic et Perinthia et Andria continentur, quod quidem criminis loco adversarius dederat, ideo hic 'ex integra' inquit 'comoedia integram comoediam acturus sum,' ne videatur ab aliquo tacta aut ipse alteram tetigisse, sed unam comoediam et integram ad Latinam sermonem interpretatione mutasse (Wessner, Vol. III, part 1, p. 154).

In Terence's critical situation, as Eugraphius saw it, the playwright proposed to leave nothing tangible for his critics to fasten upon. He had been guilty of *contaminatio*. He defended the practice *in theory* and at vs. 19 asserted that he would repeat the offence. But he was *not* doing it *now*. The *Heauton* was "untouched" (*integra*) not only because its Greek original had never previously been translated into Latin but also because the present translation was not contaminated with scenes from another Greek play, whether new or old to the Roman stage.³⁶ The last course would have constituted *furtum*, of which Terence had not yet been guilty; and at this juncture he was not avoiding old sins merely to begin new ones. He was not practicing "plagiarism" *now*. In the *Andria* he had introduced a subordinate plot by the independent invention of new material. But he was not doing this *now* (see my interpretation of vs. 6, below), and I believe that the denial of this possibility may also lie implicit in *integram*. On this occasion, Terence was not only taking no liberties with his original but was striving to reproduce it with unusual fidelity and accuracy. The critics were to be confronted, this time, with a Simon pure play. Terence was "talking big," thanks to his new friends; but he was careful to act with meticulous circumspection.

Vs. 6 is perhaps the one which has caused the most difficulty and which has been deleted by more editors than any other.³⁷ It must be granted that the most obvious meaning seems, to me at least, to be that Terence had done once more what he had already

³⁶ It seems unnecessary to attempt a list of all the interpretations that have been offered for vs. 4, but perhaps a few should be cited. Dziatzko, *De Prologis Plautinis et Terentianis* (1863), p. 8 paraphrased as follows: "ex Graeca fabula, cuius nemo quidquam praeipuit, Latinam, cui non oportuit quidquam addi," meaning that contamination was denied both in *integra* and in *integram*. The crazy-patch work that Dziatzko made of the opening lines of the *Heauton* by numerous rearrangements (in his edition, 1884) shows that he never really understood this prologue. Fabia (*Les Prologues*, p. 20) sees a reference only to newness in both words, and is apparently followed by Ashmore in his edition. Rötter, *De Heaut. Ter.* (1892), p. 20, thought that vs. 4 denied contamination but with reference to an earlier play of the same name, now lost!

³⁷ Cf. Fabia, *Les Prologues*, p. 18: "C'est, en effet, le seul vers des prologues qu'on ne puisse défendre."

done in the *Andria*, viz., introduced a secondary plot so as to make the play *duplex* instead of *simplex*.³⁸ But such a procedure would have broken down Terence's whole plan of campaign with reference to this play, which was to give his critics least occasion for complaint by sticking as closely as possible to one Greek play and only one. Is the phrase not capable of a meaning which would be consonant with this policy? Such an interpretation is preserved in all the scholia; cf. Bembine scholia: "*duplex, Graeca et Latina*"³⁹; Eugraphius: *ut simplex argumentum sit duplex, dum et Latina eadem et Graeca est*" (Wessner, vol. III, part 1, p. 154); and Schlee's *Commentarius Antiquior*: "*Graeca Menandri et Latina mea*" (*op. cit.*, p. 113). In other words, there was but one plot, but out of this *argumento simplici* Terence had created a *duplex comoedia* when to Menander's Greek play he had added a close Latin version. He had made two plays to grow where there had been but one before. At first glance such a conceit may appear far fetched, but it seems to me to fit into the flow of the thought and into the situation of Terence's affairs better than any other that has been advanced.

Now it is interesting to observe that the same fundamental idea that is expressed by this conceit in vs. 6 reappears, in a generalized form, in what I believe to be the correct understanding of the famous phrase, *o dimidiate Menander*, which Caesar applied to our poet in the verses preserved in the *Vita*:

tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,
comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore
cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres!
unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.⁴⁰

The context here seems to make the meaning so plain that the proper translation is rarely made a subject of discussion. Menander had both *lenitas* and *vis*, and Caesar credits Terence with only the former quality. Therefore, it seems almost inevitable that by the phrase *o dimidiate Menander* Caesar meant to call Terence a "half, i.e., a 50%, Menander." Apparently this translation and this

³⁸ This is perhaps the most popular interpretation. It is unnecessary to comment upon the variant reading *duplici* or upon Bentley's conjecture, *simplex . . . duplici*.

³⁹ Cf. *Hermes* II (1867), p. 363.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wessner, I, 9. For the setting and occasion of these verses, cf. Sihler in *American Journal of Philology*, XXVI (1905), pp. 16f.

understanding are all but universal. But it so happens that Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* III, 14) gives, on the authority of Varro, a disquisition on the difference between the adjective *dimidius* and the participle *dimidiatus*. The latter should be applied only to a whole, and the former only to a half. Thus, "I have heard half a play" is either *audivi fabulam dimidiatam* or *audivi partem dimidiam fabulae*, but not *audivi fabulam dimidiam*. Gellius is unusually emphatic in insisting upon this distinction and supports it by citations from Lucilius, Ennius, Plautus, and Cato. If we apply this formula to Caesar's *o dimidiate Menander*, which Gellius does not mention, it seems at first as if the common interpretation were justified: *dimidiatus* is used of a whole and so, sure enough, Menander is the whole of which Terence is only one half. But let us not be too hasty. A whole must have *two halves*. If Terence is one half of Menander, who represents the other half? This question clears the air like a flash of lightning. At once we see that Menander is himself the other half and that Terence and Menander together make up the complete poet (on the plane of the Platonic ideas), whom, in default of a proper name of his own, Caesar has also given the name Menander. In other words, *Menander* in Caesar's phrase really means a super-genius in the field of comedy, one half of whom was represented among the Greeks by the historic Menander and the other half among the Romans by Terence.⁴¹ The fact that Menander may have had more dramatic powers than Terence does not spoil the validity of this figure, any more than the fact that a *scyphus* (I choose the illustration because Gellius used this word in his discussion), if it had three handles like a *hydria*, might be divided in such a way that one half might have two handles and the other but one, or, if its chased design were unevenly distributed, might be divided in such a way that one half possessed more ornamentation than the other, and yet it would still be a *scyphus dimidiatus*. In exactly the same way, returning to *Heauton*, vs. 6, Terence says that there is only one (ideal) story, viz. an *argumentum simplex*; and up to the present there has been only one play dealing with that *argumentum*

⁴¹ Mr. R. T. Jenkins *apud* Norwood's *The Art of Terence*, p. 142, n., attempted to reconcile Gellius' distinction with the current interpretation of Caesar's phrase on the basis of Terence's *contaminatio*. He paraphrased Caesar's meaning as follows: "Each of your plays consists of two plays by Menander, both of these being abridged and then joined together." But this would be to reverse the application and make each of Menander's plays (so far as they were contaminated by Terence) a *fabula dimidiata Terenti*.

simplex, viz., the Greek play by Menander, which had never been translated (*integra Graeca*). But now that Terence has written also a Latin version and kept it uncontaminated (*integram*), the *comoedia*, which had been *simplex* like the *argumentum*, has become *duplex*.

Heauton, vs. 7, is a partial resumé of what has preceded: *novam esse ostendi* refers to vs. 4, especially to the phrase *ex integra Graeca*, and *et quae esset* to the title, which is mentioned in vs. 5. After an interruption of two and a half verses (*nunc qui . . . dicerem*), vs. 10 restates the problem mentioned in vss. 1f. Thus, before beginning the *oratio* proper in vs. 11, everything (that needs to be) has been reincorporated in the sequence of ideas, except vs. 6. But this line belongs closely to vs. 5 from which, contrary to most editors, it should be separated by no punctuation stronger than a comma: "I'll act the *Heauton*, a sister-version with but a single plot." The precise application of vss. 7-9 (*nunc . . . dicerem*) is far from clear, but I am convinced that this uncertainty arises from our ignorance and not from the doubtful genuineness of the lines. I can see two possibilities. In the first place, it is certainly possible, even though no information has been handed down to us, that the *Heauton* had been so well advertised in advance of its performance (probably by the furor among Terence's critics because of his reappearance after his failure with the *Hecyra*, especially as the protégé of Laelius and Scipio, and by the whispered suspicion that these youths had contributed to its composition) that it was literally unnecessary for announcement to be made to the audience with regard to these two points. In the second place, it should be observed that the phrase, *qui scripserit*, saved Terence from embarrassment with reference to this charge of outside help, as elaborated in vss. 23f., below. He surely could not have written *Laelius* (or *Scipio*) *scripsit*, even if that had been the fact, nor yet joined his name to theirs. Yet *Terentius scripsit* would have evoked catcalls from every hostile member of the audience. Terence's reticence was at the same time tactful and served to whet the curiosity of the public by augmenting the mystery. As to the phrase, *et quonia Graeca sit*, I regard it as part of the deliberate policy of teasing and bewilderment which is pursued throughout this prologue⁴² (see below). To contaminate or

⁴² This furnishes the reply to Skutsch's argument: " . . . dem wird nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass, wenn Terenz beim *H.* einen solchen Haupttrumpt wie

not to contaminate, that was the question. Terence had been successful with the contaminated *Andria*; he had failed with the uncontaminated *Hecyra*. Which would he (or whoever was masquerading under his name) do this time? Vs. 4 was far from clear but pointed in one direction. Vs. 6 was far from clear but seemed to point in the other direction. Vss. 16ff. defied all critics of the practice, but did not commit the poet as to this play. It is obvious that, if Terence had answered the question raised by *quoia*, he would have had to mention Menander alone or in company with another, thus dispelling the mystery. What he wrote belongs in the series of remarks in vss. 4, 6, and 16 ff.

Terence wished Ambivius to be an *orator*, not a *prologus*, and proposed to leave the decision with the audience as judges (*vostrum iudicium*, vs. 12). Ambivius was to be a "pleader" (*actorem* . . . *actor*, vss. 12f.) with eloquence (*facundia*, vs. 13) to deliver the *orationem* (vs. 15), which Terence had written. He wishes them all "besought" (*oratos*, vs. 26). The words *causam* (vs. 41) and *oratio* (vs. 46) show that the thought of an advocate's speech is in the poet's mind to the end. In the course of his *oratio* Ambivius first presents three topics which we have already discussed: contamination (vss. 16-21), assistance from friends (vss. 22-30), and the faults of Lanuvinus himself (vss. 30-34). The editors commonly confuse the prologues of Terence by printing them without indentations to distinguish the paragraphs. In this prologue new paragraphs, in fact, begin at vss. 16, 22, and 30 (middle). Another begins at vs. 35 and closes at vs. 45. In this Ambivius complains that the harder plays which require more physical activity (*laboriosa*, vs. 44⁴³) are always brought to him, while the less exacting plays with quiet rôles (*statariam*, vs. 36) are taken to another troupe. He begs them to consider his cause a just one and listen to this quiet play in silence (vss. 35f.) so that his toil may be diminished (vs. 42)—by implication because their silence will permit him to win such success with this *stataria* as will bring him opportunities of playing other pieces of the same type.

The peroration and the final paragraph begin at vs. 46, a line of demarkation which is often missed. The opening words, *in hac*

Nichtkontamination in der Hand gehabt, er ihn auch ausgespielt hätte." Cf. *Philologus* LIX (1900), p. 2.

⁴³ Called *motoria* in the Bembine scholia *ad loc.* (cf. *Hermes* II [1867], p. 363), though the word is not employed by Terence.

est pura oratio, are, in my opinion, commonly misinterpreted. They are almost universally taken as referring to the quality of Terence's Latinity, a remark which is altogether gratuitous in this context. Speijer,⁴⁴ far more plausibly, interpreted them in connection with the next phrase:

experimini
in utramque partem ingenium quid possit meum (vss. 46f.),

which he referred to the contrast, in the preceding paragraph, between *fabulae statariae* and *fabulae laboriosae*. *Pura oratio* would thus mean that this play, being a *stataria*, contained "mere talk without action," and the audience is requested to give Ambivius a chance of showing what he can do in this kind of play as well as in more active ones. To this interpretation it may be objected that *oratio* would then have to include the *cantica* of the play as well as the *diverbia*, an application which might well seem questionable. In the second place, *pura oratio*, if interpreted in this way, should mean "speech devoid of action" (instead of "speech devoid of violent action"). The *Heauton* falls far short of deserving such a designation.

To me it seems that we must recall that we are dealing with the final paragraph of the advocate's speech and that the contrast is the same as we found subsisting between *id primum dicam* and *deinde quod veni eloquar* in vs. 3, viz., between the prologue and the play that was to follow. *In hac est pura oratio* signifies that in the prologue there was nothing but rhetorical delivery, entirely divorced from histrionic action; and Ambivius invited his audience to listen also to his acting (no oratory now) in the play proper, so as to discover what his talent could achieve in both fields.⁴⁵ He closes by reminding them of the unselfish dedication of his art to their service during all these years and by inviting them to make him an example "so that *adulescentuli* may desire to please you rather than themselves." Of course, *adulescentuli* must be interpreted from the standpoint of the veteran Ambivius and is usually understood as referring to Terence's rival playwrights. But it will be remembered that this is the very word which Santra used in speaking of Laelius and Scipio (see p. 244, above), and the

⁴⁴ Cf. *Mnemosyne* XIX (1891), pp. 50f.

⁴⁵ For a more extended discussion, cf. Flickinger, "On the Prologue to Terence's *Heauton*," *Classical Philology* II (1907), pp. 157-62. The Bembine scholium on the lemma *pura* is *sola vel simplex* (*Hermes* II (1867), p. 364), which favors my interpretation.

possibility must be considered that this clause was intended also to suggest the meaning "so that *the* young men, viz., Laelius and Scipio, who are charged with having assisted me, may desire to please you rather than themselves," a crowning piece of teasing and ambiguity.

No Latin student can read Terence without noting the striking difference between the style of the prologues and that of the plays themselves. In fact, Guyet (1657) and Schindler (1881)⁴⁶ even suggested that the two *Hecyra* prologues had been composed by Ambivius rather than by Terence. But these two prologues do not seem to me to be any more rugged than the others. We need an explanation which will apply to all of them, and we may perhaps find it in the judgment which Leo⁴⁷ expressed:

Die Prologe, wohlgesetzte Reden ans Publikum, sind durch und durch künstlich stilisiert, aber nicht im plautinischen Stil, sondern es sind versifizierte Proben der Redekunst wie sie damals in Rom gelernt und geübt wurde; für uns die ältesten Proben dieser rhetorischen Technik und darum von besonderer Wichtigkeit, wie sie auch die ersten sicher dem Römer ganz allein gehörenden lateinische Gedichte sind.

Here there are two suggestions which may help us. First, these are independent, the first wholly independent, verses that we can surely claim for a Roman; manifestly it would be more difficult to produce well-formed sentences and a smoothly flowing sequence of ideas in an independent sequence of metrical lines than when based, however freely, upon a Greek original in which these problems had already been worked out. Secondly, these are not genuine poems but versified echoes of the artificial oratory of the day. These considerations surely throw light upon much that seems strange in Terence's prologues.

But it seems to me that the *Heauton* prologue is peculiar beyond all the others. *Primum dicam, deinde . . . eloquar, integra . . . integram, duplex . . . simplici, novam . . . esset, qui . . . et quonia . . . dicerem, multas . . . paucas, amicum ingenio fretum, servo currenti . . . quor insano serviat, pura oratio, in utramque partem, adulescentuli*,—what do these phrases mean and what is their application? Centuries of scholars have puzzled over them and will continue to do so. I am inclined to think that they were deliberately intended to tantalize and baffle Terence's critics by seeming to say

⁴⁶ Cf. Dziatzko's text edition (1884), p. XXXIV, and Fabia, *Les Prologues*, pp. 11f.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Geschichte der röm. Literatur* (1913), vol. I, p. 251.

something but doing it so vaguely that they were none the wiser.⁴⁸ According to Nepos' anecdote in the *Vita*, barely more than a month before the performance the text was still in the hands of Laelius 150 miles away. Whatever rumors may have been in circulation, the play was evidently not put into rehearsal until the last possible moment; and the fact that Ambivius was to deliver a prologue was undoubtedly kept a profound secret until he appeared before the astonished gaze of Terence's rivals and critics, to deliver the prologue but dressed in the costume of his rôle! And then they listened to a prologue which was at the same time a series of riddles, a defiance, and an insult, and followed by a comedy which met all the technical requirements of the most strait-laced critic! The psychological mood in which Terence penned this prologue was compounded of four emotions: humiliation for the *Hecyra* fiasco, anger towards his unrelenting foes, confidence based upon the late-won friendship of influential youths, and, with it all, a determination to knock the props out from under every possible objection this time! Consequently to Lanuvinus, whose name, however, he never mentions either here or in any other prologue, he addressed some remarks that show that anyone can be a scathing dramatic critic; *contaminatio* he defended, expressed no regrets for his offence, and said that he would resort to the practice again; moreover, both in regard to this matter and the alleged assistance of his friends he employed terms so enigmatical that no one who heard them for the first time as they fell from the lips of Ambivius in this extraordinary prologue could possibly understand their significance and application. Nevertheless, this play was probably a closer approximation to a literal translation than any of the others,

ex integra Graeca integram comoediam!

From this situation there came developments, the full significance of which I think have not always been recognized and which I hope to discuss in another paper, in the near future, entitled "Terence's *Heauton* and Act Divisions among the Ancients."

⁴⁸ Norwood has also detected a trace of malice in Terence's character: "It is the voice of Terence himself maliciously insisting upon the originality of his work" (*op. cit.*, p. 105). Fabia (*op. cit.*, p. 22) speaks of "un système d'irrégularités commises ce jour-là par Térence" in the *Heauton*.

EUNUCHUS

The prologues which remain to be considered, though not free from difficulties, are on the whole less controversial and less crucial for understanding Terence's career. It will therefore be possible to pass over them more rapidly.

Two years have again passed, and in 161 B.C. Terence brought out two comedies, the *Eunuchus* at the *ludi Megalenses* (April fourth) and the *Phormio* at the *ludi Romani* (September fourth). So long a wait without the production of another play seems strange; but the interval was utilized for the composition of two pieces, and one play a year seems to have been about as much as Terence found it feasible to produce. It is conceivable that Scipio and Laelius were away from Rome in 162 B.C. and so unable to help him in that year. The *Eunuchus* was both the longest of his plays and proved most congenial to the Roman populace. Donatus⁴⁹ informs us that it was sold again and acted *pro nova*, receiving the unheard-of price of 8,000 sesterces; and the Vita⁵⁰ declares that it was acted twice on the same day (*bis die acta est*). Apparently this triumph was needed to wipe out the disgrace caused by the ill-fated *Hecyra*. At least Terence still could not bring himself to mention that fiasco.

The *Eunuchus* prologue is entirely devoted to assaults upon Lanuvinus (vss. 1-19) and a defense against the charge of *furtum* (vss. 19-43). According to vss. 20ff., Terence's critic had maneuvered so as to gain entrance to a rehearsal and quickly recognized that Terence was not only up to his old trick of *contaminatio* but that this offence was here aggravated by "plagiarism":

- 25 exclamat furem, non poëtam, fabulam
 dedisse et nil dedisse verborum tamen:
 Colacem esse Naevi, et Plauti veterem fabulam;
 parasiti personam inde ablatam et militis.
 si id est peccatum, peccatum inpuidentias
 poëtae, non quo furtum facere studuerit.
 id ita esse vos iam indicare poteritis.
- 30 Colax Menandrist: in east parasitus Colax
 et miles gloriosus: eas se hic non negat
 personas transtulisse in Eunuchum suam
 ex Graeca; sed eas fabulas factas prius
 Latinas <a>sci<vi>sse [se], id vero pernegat.

It will be noted that I have followed Phillimore⁵¹ in introducing

⁴⁹ Cf. Wessner, I, 266.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵¹ Cf. *Classical Review* XXXII (1918), pp. 98f. The comma in vs. 25 was

a comma after Naevi in vs. 25, thus making Lanuvinus refer to separate plays by Naevius and Plautus instead of to one play by Naevius, revised by Plautus; in retaining *eas fabulas* of the manuscripts in vs. 33 instead of accepting Fleckeisen's commonly accepted conjecture, *ea ex fabula*; and in adopting Phillimore's own emendation *ascivisse* for the vulgate *scisse sese* in vs. 34.

What I conceive to have happened was this: As soon as Gnatho and Thraso appeared (the former at vs. 232, and the latter at vs. 391), Lanuvinus saw that these rôles did not belong to Menander's *Eunuchus*, which Terence was ostensibly reproducing. He remembered that such characters, similarly treated, had appeared in Naevius' *Colax* and in an old comedy by Plautus (*Miles Gloriosus*?). The fact that Lanuvinus was in doubt, although Terence actually had used Menander's *Colax*, the same play as Naevius had translated, shows that Naevius or Terence, probably both, employed a considerable degree of independence in adapting the original.⁵² The vulgate reading in vss. 33f. makes Terence say that he was unacquainted with these Latin comedies, a defense so transparent and so clumsy that modern scholars have not hesitated to call it a downright lie.⁵³ But such a statement would have been incompatible with the rest of Terence's defense, while Phillimore's easy emendation fits perfectly. He confessed (vss. 31f.) that he had added the parasite and boastful soldier to Menander's *Eunuchus*, which he was translating, and that for these rôles he had been indebted to Menander's *Colax* (vss. 30f.), which had been translated by Naevius. But his borrowing had been from the Greek original, not from Naevius (*ex Graeca*, vs. 33). This was his first line of defence; and to us, whatever his contemporaries may have thought of it, it seems adequate and plausible, since we would have no scruples about the same original being employed more than once. His secondary defense is even better (vss. 35-43). After all, the *parasitus* and *miles* were stock characters of Greek and Roman comedy, like the *servus currens*, *bona matrona*, or *meretrix mala*, and could no more be regarded as the exclusive

first proposed by Vissering; cf. Ritschl, *Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz* (1845), p. 99.

⁵² See pp. 264f., below, and cf. Norwood's discussion of Terence's originality in *The Art of Terence*, pp. 4-17. The suggestion, which on p. 12, n. 1, is credited to Leo, was in fact made by Jacoby, "Ein Selbstzeugnis des Terenz," *Hermes* XLIV (1909), 362-69.

⁵³ Cf. Fabia, *Les Prologues*, p. 225, and Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 138, n. 3.

possession of any one dramatist than were such themes as love, hate, the exposure of children, or the tricking of old men by slaves. I understand him to mean that he had added two stock characters to his play and had done so chiefly by his own powers of invention, even though he had derived some suggestions from Menander's *Colax* (the original play). But he vigorously denied (*pernegat*, vs. 34) that he had appropriated (*ascivisse*) any previously existing Latin versions. Thus, the two parts of his defense compose a well-rounded whole, for which he ought not now to be charged with untruthfulness.

The attack upon Lanuvinus (vss. 1-19) need not detain us except to call attention to the slighting manner in which he refers to his critic:

tum si quis est qui dictum in se inclementius
existumarit esse (vss. 4f),

and to the fact that he threatens to renew his offensive defensive, if Lanuvinus continues his assaults:

habeo alia multa, quae nunc condonabitur,
quae proferentur post, si perget laedere,
ita ut facere instituit.

At the very end of the prologue (vss. 44f.), he closes with the familiar appeal for close attention and silence.

PHORMIO

The *Eunuchus* was followed within five months by the *Phormio*, the only instance in Terence's career in which two genuinely new pieces were brought out within a calendar year. The effect which the conspicuous success of the former comedy had had upon the playwright's frame of mind is plain to be seen. For the first time since the fiasco with the *Hecyra* he could bring himself to mention that disastrous occasion:

date operam, adeste aequo animo per silentium,
ne simili utamur fortuna atque usi sumus .
quom per tumultum noster grex motus locost;
quem actoris virtus nobis restituit locum
bonitasque vostra adiutans atque aequanimitas (vss. 30-34).

Not only two years after the event, in the *Heauton* prologue, but even four years after the event, in the *Eunuchus* prologue, his disappointment was too keen to permit him to refer publicly to his humiliation. But now at least the sense of soreness has been

largely eradicated by the conspicuous success of the *Eunuchus*, and he can speak gratefully of Ambivius' *virtus* and the audience's *bonitas atque aequanimitas*.⁵⁴

On the subjects of contamination and plagiarism the poet is no longer self-conscious. It would seem that the tremendous success of his *Eunuchus*, in spite of all that Lanuvinus could say against that play, had temporarily silenced his rival on these matters. He now felt free to do as he pleased. And resting under no sense of compulsion, he wrote an uncontaminated play and in its prologue did not so much as mention the subject.

As we have seen (pp. 237 and 238, above) he differentiated two stages in Lanuvinus' campaign against himself (vss. 1-3). In the second stage, his critic, having met no success with *maledicta* based upon the materials of Terence's works, has now turned to their stylistic qualities:

qui ita dictitat, quas ante hic fecit fabulas,
tenui esse oratione et scriptura levi (vss. 4f.)

The precise meaning and application of *tenui oratione et scriptura levi* deserve a more extended treatment than they have yet received. These terms need to be interpreted in the light of the phrase *oratione . . . ac stilo* in *Andria*, vs. 12, and of the *pura oratio* which we have seen Terence himself finding in the *Heauton* prologue but missing in the *Heauton* itself.

After a brief criticism of one of Lanuvinus' comedies (vss. 6-8) Terence permits himself to share his honors with Ambivius, but in such a manner as to hit at Lanuvinus' ignorance of the dramatic art:

quod si intellexeret, quom stetit olim nova,
actoris opera magis stetisse quam sua,
minus multo audacter quam nunc laedit laederet (vss. 9-11).

Next, after humorously suggesting that some one might think that he would have had no subject-matter for his prologues, if the old poet's attacks had not furnished him with material (vss. 12-15), he somewhat affectedly rejoins that the prize (*palmm*, vs. 17) lies open to all who undertake the dramatic art and that, although Lanuvinus had desired to reduce him to starvation, Terence had wished only to answer, not to assail (vss. 18f.). He points out that

⁵⁴ Cf. Fabia, *Les Prologues*, p. 48, n. 2: "Mais c'est précisément parce que l' échac date déjà de quatre ans et qu'il a été réparé par des succès, que le poète, qui jusqu' ici s'était abstenu d'en parler, ose maintenant le faire."

compliments would have begotten compliments, and that Lanuvinus' "chickens had merely come home to roost":

benedictis si certasset, audisset bene:
quod ab illo adlatumst, [id] sibi esse rellatum putet (vss. 20f.),

and adds, with ostentatious humility:

de illo iam finem faciam dicundi mihi,
peccandi quom ipse de se finem non facit (vss. 22f.).

Vss. 24-29 give the name of the Greek original and explain why it has been changed in the Latin translation; the concluding lines, vss. 30-34, have already been discussed.

Surely the psychology of this prologue is perfect. From his new position of assured success, he brushes aside strictures upon his style; calmly ignores the charges which had been brought against him times without number; first criticizes and then patronizes his rival; smiles at the service which Lanuvinus' attacks have unintentionally been to him; from his rich store of honors handsomely bestows a general portion upon Ambivius; and even refers to the defeat of his receding past with the calmness of a self-made man alluding to the difficult days of his early career. Certainly self-confidence oozes from every pore, and this is the occasion when he felt it and exhibited it the most.

ADELPHOE

The *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra II* were produced at the funeral games in honor of L. Aemilius Paulus, which were given by his sons, now adopted into other families, Q. Fabius Maximus and Scipio. The exact date is unknown, but it was in 160 B.C., prior to September fourth. I shall presently give reason for believing that the *Adelphoe* came before the *Hecyra* at the games.

Umpfenbach correctly saw that there was a lacuna after *Ad.* vs. 3, and Bentley had already detected the same thing after vs. 24. It is likely that both omissions are due to the same cause, a tear at the bottom of a page in the archetype. Since twenty-one lines of text survive between the two lacunae, it is not likely that more than four or five verses (perhaps only two or three) were lost at each place. The archetype of Lucretius, as Lachmann discovered, contained twenty-six lines to a page, and it is likely that the archetype of Terence was of about the same size. In any case, the gap at the beginning of the *Adelphoe* prologue is not so serious as to prevent our seeing that at once Terence plunged *in medias res* and

renewed the battle with his critics, who were apparently as relentless and implacable as ever. Our poet had now incurred the charge of *furtum* (vss. 4-14), and under unusual circumstances. In his *Commorientis* Plautus had already translated the *Συναποθνήσκοντες* of Diphilus, but for some reason had omitted one passage from the opening of the original. This omitted scene Terence retrieved and introduced, by contamination, into Menander's *Ἀδελφοί*, which he was here transcribing:

eum Plautus locum
reliquit integrum, eum hic locum sumpsit sibi;
in Adelphos, verbum de verbo expressum, extulit.
eam nos acturi sumus novam: pernoscite
furtumne factum existumetis an locum
represum, qui praeteritus neclegentiast (vss. 9-14).

Current practice did not permit a Roman playwright to translate a Greek play which had already been Latinized by another. It speaks volumes for the assurance which Terence now felt in the security of his position at Rome that he dared to venture so near to violating this rule outright and that he felt safe in explaining (I will not say, defending) his conduct by such a technicality. In any event, he was guilty of *contaminatio* but did not deign to waste a single word on that subject of past controversies. Evidently Terence had at last cowed his opponents on that issue, even if they plucked up their spirits enough to start a new one.

In passing it may be observed that *integrum*, *novam*, and *praeteritus* are synonymous and all refer to the fact that the passage in question had not previously been translated, thus affording the best commentary on *integra . . . integram* in *Heaut.* vs. 4.—The phrase *verbum de verbo expressum*, also, usually elicits the commentary that it is “not to be too closely pressed” or the like.⁵⁵ On the other hand, it should be said that, whereas elsewhere Terence has grafted foreign material upon his Greek originals so cleverly that it would never be suspected except on external evidence nor the sutures discovered even then, here editors have readily identified unevennesses as due to this process; cf., e.g., Ashmore, pp. 266 (bis) and 270. But to have incorporated this Diphilus scene in Menander's original after the fashion of welding employed, for example, in the *Andria*, would have rendered it possible for Terence's opponents to identify verbal parallels between the phraseology of this passage and Plautus' translation of the rest of Diph-

⁵⁵ Cf. Ashmore *ad loc.*, and Norwood, *The Art of Terence*, p. 6, n. 2.

ilus. In this connection it is instructive to examine Aulus Gellius II, 23, where three passages from Menander's *Plocium*, aggregating some thirty lines, are brought into juxtaposition with the corresponding Latin text in the version by Caecilius. They hardly touch one another at any point! If such a method of procedure could be called "translating," then almost no playwright could be altogether safe from the charge of plagiarism. In the situation in which Terence had placed himself, the only way in which he could protect himself from the imputation of borrowing from Plautus was to translate the Greek which Plautus had omitted, so literally that its place of origin could not be disputed. Caecilius' *Plocium* makes plain that there was a wide range of latitude possible in this matter. As compared with Caecilius, Terence's translation of the Diphilus passage could easily have been made so close as to have seemed, by contrast, to deserve to be referred to as *verbum de verbo expressum* and yet to have fallen far short of what we would consider a "word for word" translation. I am therefore of the opinion that here, as in the *Heauton*, Terence practiced a more literal dependence upon the Greek than was usually his custom, even at the risk of indulging in the *obscura diligentia* of which he considered Lanuvinus to have been guilty (*Andria*, vs. 21).⁵⁶

With the exception of a few words at the close, which warn the audience not to expect an outline of the *argumentum* (vss. 22-24) and which appeal to their *aequanimitas* (vss. 24f.), the remainder of the prologue is devoted to the imputation that he is assisted in his writings by certain *homines nobiles*, a charge which he "damns with faint praise":

quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existunt,
eam laudem hic ducit maxumam, quom illis placet,
qui vobis univrsis et populo placent,
quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio
suo quisque tempore usust sine superbia (vss. 17-21).

This subject has already been discussed at sufficient length (pp. 245 f. and 254 f., above). These words are consistent with the be-

⁵⁶ Nevertheless, at least occasionally Terence could translate as closely as any one could ask; cf., for example, *Adelphoe*, vs. 866:

ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax,
and the corresponding line of the Greek original, as preserved by Donatus:

ἐγὼ δ' ἀγροῖκος, ἐργάτης, σκυθρός, παρὸς, φειδωλός.

There is, of course, no reason to believe that Terence's translations were often so literal as in this instance. The very fact that Donatus cites the parallel passage suggests the contrary.

lief that Scipio and Laelius are the persons referred to. At this time Scipio was twenty-five and Laelius about twenty-six. The force of *sine superbia* is not always understood. Terence is explaining why he seems secretive about his relations with his friends and why he makes their help a mystery, "You employ their services on every occasion. Why should I not do so, also? But I do not brag about it!"

HECYRA II

No prologue was written for the first performance of the *Hecyra* (see p. 236, n. 4). From the prologue composed for the second performance only eight verses have come down to us. Dziatzko proposed to transfer hither vss. 7-9 of the *Heauton* prologue. I think that these are authentic where they stand. The fact that they would be appropriate also in the prologue to *Hecyra II* is no cogent proof that they belong here. Editors generally recognize a lacuna between vss. 7 and 8. I doubt whether this represents the loss of many lines. I believe that this prologue always was a short one, and its brevity is easily explained. *Hecyra II* and the *Adelphoe* were performed on the same occasion, the funeral games in honor of Paulus; but in my opinion editors⁵⁷ are mistaken in believing that they were performed in this sequence. The prologue of the *Adelphoe* was longer and, in spite of the loss of a few lines, must have been adequate for the occasion. If *Hecyra II* came later in the programme of the *ludi funerales*, there would have been little left to be said in its prologue. A few lines would have sufficed. If we accept the traditional sequence in these two performances, the brevity of the *Hecyra* prologue is inexplicable. The fact that the *Hecyra* is given the didascalical numeral V as against VI for the *Adelphoe* does not invalidate this explanation. Although both *Hecyra II* (as I have just suggested) and *Hecyra III* were subsequent to the *Adelphoe*, yet *Hecyra I* antedated it. The fiasco of its first performance was not sufficient to win the numeral II for the *Hecyra*, but it did prevent its being thrust behind the *Adelphoe*, a play which was contemporaneous with *Hecyra II*, in the enumeration.

There are a few small points deserving of comment. In vs. 2 Phillimore⁵⁸ has recently proposed to read *nova, novomodo* for

⁵⁷ Contrast Fabia, *op. cit.*, p. 34: "sous les mêmes consuls que les *Adelphes*, mais, sans aucune doute, après cette pièce."

⁵⁸ Cf. *Classical Review* XXXIX (1925), p. 18.

nova novom of the MSS, where Fleckeisen's conjecture *novae novom* has been widely adopted. Phillimore's suggestion is attractive and is given plausibility by his suggestion that *novomodo* was first abbreviated to *novom̃*, which was then mistaken for simple *novom*; but unfortunately *nova*, *novo modo* was proposed long ago by Umpfenbach.⁵⁹—Terence is severe upon the people for their neglect of *Hecyra I*:

ita populus studio stupidus in funambulo
animum occuparat (vss. 4f.).

This reflects the cocksureness of the poet at this stage of his career, but a second dose of the same medicine taught him (or Ambivius) to be more tactful next time:

eam calamitatem vostra intelligentia⁶⁰
sedabit, si erit adiutrix nostrae industriae (vss. 31f.),

from the prologue to *Hecyra III*.—In vs. 5 Ashmore translates *haec planest pro nova* by "the play is virtually a new one."⁶¹ I think it is meant as a frank confession that it is "a substitute for a new one." Ashmore's interpretation seems to me to afford less motivation for the reluctance expressed in vss. 6f:

et is qui scripsit hanc ob eam rem noluit
iterum referre, ut iterum posset vendere.

HECYRA III

Hecyra II fared little better than *Hecyra I*. It had hardly more than started⁶² when the rumor of an exhibition of gladiators stampered the audience (vs. 39-42, in the prologue to *Hecyra III*.) There is some interest in the expanded explanation now given for the failure of *Hecyra I*. The *funambulus*, who was made solely responsible in the prologue to *Hecyra II* (vs. 4), in the prologue to *Hecyra III* is made to share his guilt. He is degraded to a parenthetical line (vs. 34), which some editors, following Grautoff,

⁵⁹ Cf. *Anal. Terent.*, Mainz Progr., 1874; cited by Fabia, *Les Prologues*, p. 13, n. 3.

⁶⁰ Perhaps the audience at the third performance really deserved this compliment; see p. 268, n. 64, below.

⁶¹ Similarly Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 12, first translated this phrase as meaning "entirely new" and then charged that Terence "is not telling the truth" (!). Correctly interpreted in Thomas' edition (Paris, 1887). See also *pro nova* in Donatus, cited on p. 259, above.

⁶² In vs. 39 *primo actu placeo* would be decisive evidence on the mooted question of act-divisions in the time of Terence except that most scholars take *actu* here as meaning "action" instead of "act," comparing in *prima fabula* in vs. 9 of the *Adelphoe* prologue.

would delete; while several other contributing factors have been summoned to explain so humiliating a rebuff:

- 35 quom primum eam agere coepi, pugilum gloria,
 (funambuli eodem accessit expectatio)
 comitum conventus, strepitus, clamor mulierum⁶³
 fecere ut ante tempus exirem foras (vss. 33-36).

At the *Ludi Romani* on September fourth of the same year, certainly not many weeks after the *ludi funerales* of Paulus at which the second performance of the ill-fated *Hecyra* was essayed, Ambivius made a third and finally successful attempt to produce this piece in its entirety.⁶⁴ As in the *Heauton*, Ambivius delivers the prologue himself and appeals to the audience *mea causa* (vss. 28 and 55). But this time he wears the costume of the *prologus* and not, as we believe to have been the case in the *Heauton*, that of his subsequent rôle in the play:

orator ad vos venio ornatu prologi (vs. 1).

He proceeds at once to explain (vss. 2-27) that he is doing no more now in his old age than once he did in his youth for Statius Caecilius whose plays he was instrumental in giving a second chance when they had been driven from the stage at their premieres or maintained in their place with difficulty. This practice Ambivius had revived for the benefit of Terence but without avail (vss. 37-42). Now under more favorable conditions he wished to try yet again (vss. 28-30 and 43ff). He appeals to the audience to reinforce his efforts with their intelligence (*vostra intellegentia . . . adiutrix nostrae industriae*, vss. 31f), his *auctoritas* with theirs (vss. 47f). He tells them that they have it within their power to elevate dramatic festivals (vss. 44f) and urges them to prevent the playwright's art from falling into the control of a clique (*recidere ad paucos*, vss. 46f). He implores them to succor against unjust attack a man who has entrusted his art to Ambivius' keeping

⁶³ Norwood, *op. cit.*, p. 98, n. 2, has an ingenious suggestion here: "Among the reasons offered in the prologue for the failure of this play is *clamor mulierum*. It may well be that the women in the audience were scandalized by the favorable picture of a courtesan in this and the following scenes."

⁶⁴ Vs. 57 (*novas . . . posthac pretio emptas meo*) is sometimes taken as implying that Ambivius had now purchased the rights to the play from the aediles and was bringing it out at his own risk. In that case *tesserae* would be distributed on a commercial basis and would come into the possession of spectators who would be genuinely interested. Such a supposition would explain the restricted size and superior conduct of the audience as implied in vs. 43:

nunc turba non est; otium et silentiumst.

and his fortunes to their protection. It is noticeable that no controversial subject is introduced throughout, that nothing is said about *contaminatio* or *furtum*, and that almost no expression is employed which could offend Terence's critics. In fact, three or four words at the end of the next to the last sentence (vss. 52-54) exhaust the list:

sinite impetrare me, qui in tutelam meam
studium suum et se in vostram commisit fidem,
ne eum *circumventum inique iniqui inrideant*.⁶⁵

Evidently the audience's response was such as to encourage the continuance of Terence's dramatic activities. In any case his recent successes (apart from *Hecyra II*) and the support of his influential friends would have guaranteed that result. Soon thereafter, for motives which the *Vita* (Wessner, I, p. 7) can not definitely assign out of several conceivable, he set sail for Greece, a journey from which he was destined never to return.

In spite of a few textual imperfections in the MSS tradition of the prologues and a few obscurities arising from our ignorance of the precise circumstances under which the plays were performed and despite a crabbed and artificial style which was colored by contemporaneous oratory among the Romans, we have seen that the prologues each in turn admirably reflect the situation in which they were composed and the psychology of the playwright as it varied with the change of his fortunes from festival to festival.

⁶⁵ Vss. 49-51:

si numquam avare pretium statui arti meae
et eum esse quaestum in animum induxi maxumum,
quam maxime servire vostris commodis,

occur also in *Heauton*, vss. 48-50, and so are bracketed here by some editors. But evidently Ambivius considered this to be the guiding principle of his career, and liked to mention it.

SOME TENDENCIES IN THE MODERN GERMAN BALLAD

By ALBERT W. ARON
Oberlin College

Even a superficial acquaintance with the manifold variety of German poems passing under the name of *ballad* will make the fact patent at once that we cannot here attempt to find a generally acceptable definition of what is to-day understood under this term. One need but point to such widely disparate poems as Hofmannsthal's *Ballade des äusseren Lebens* and Carl Spitteler's so-called ballads to prove the looseness with which the term is employed.

Goethe was an ardent admirer of Schiller's ballads. When it was suggested to him that they could not properly be designated as ballads, he answered that these poems were a new species enlarging the realm of poetry. This enlarging, it would seem, is what has taken place in the development of the German ballad.

The view which was formerly rather widely held that the so-called popular ballad is of communal origin denied the title of *ballad* to such poems which did not seem to spring from such a source and which differed from the popular ballad in content and form. To-day, when we no longer share this belief in the communal origin of the ballad, we designate as a ballad a short narrative poem which is pervaded with a lyric mood. If the ballad is something more than a mere imitation of the ballads of the past, then it will almost always reveal the spirit of the age in which it originated. As an organic literary growth it can usually be dated, i.e., its form and content itself may tell us in what period it was written.

In the very cursory sketch of this paper I shall stress especially the contemporary ballad. There has been a veritable flood of new ballad publications and the ballad anthologies are increasing apace. Among the contemporary writers of this kind of poetry there seem to be three who clearly stand out above their colleagues: Agnes Miegel, Lulu von Strauss und Torney, and Freiherr Börries von Münchhausen. I arrange them in the order of their artistic importance, as it appears to me. (Perhaps Carl Spitteler belongs in the front rank; but he is so much of a problematic nature, that I am not ready to evaluate his status as a singer of ballads.)

What are some of the characteristically modern tones we hear? Or we might ask, what are some of the predominant tendencies in our modern life which we might possibly expect to see reflected in our contemporary poetry?

Certainly one of the strongest trends of our modern civilization is the movement toward internationalism or, perhaps better, toward group co-operation. In Agnes Miegel's poetry, much of it written during the great war, we find the recognition of the essential solidarity of European civilization. She has a woman symbolic of England say:

Doch schlagen die Wellen zusammen
Über meinem letzten Kiel,
Dann bebt das Herz der Tiefe,
Weil England fiel.
Von den Straits bis zum Channel
Erlischt meiner Türme Licht,
Das Sternenbanner stürzt,
Das Kreuz auf St. Peter zerbricht.
Dann greifen die Söhne der Mitte
Zum Wanderstab,
Dann schüttelt Kanaan
Seine Ketten ab,
Dann ruft Gott selber vom Dach der Welt
Bis zum äussersten Meer:
"Heute noch einmal der weisse Mann—
Und dann nimmermehr!"

This is a far cry from the popular ballad, which has been in the main limited to one locality or from the later ballads which were often national in viewpoint, but never international.

As on the one hand the modern ballad draws our gaze beyond the confines of the one nation, so on the other hand it recognizes present-day internal political and race questions which have never before furnished the poetic theme. One of the burning questions in German life to-day is the settlement of the Jewish question. Before the period with which we are concerned, the Jew has frequently played the literary rôle of hero or villain, but never before Münchhausen has there been the poetic recognition of a definite race problem, such as we find in Münchhausen's *Juda*, a cycle of ballads inspired by a sympathetic understanding of the nostalgic longing of the Zionists for a soil, a city they may call their own. Such a phenomenon, the publication of a book of ballads rich with the exotic colors of the Hebrew past by a poet who was ordinarily the herald of his own chivalrous caste, can be accounted for only by the explanation that the bounds of the field of the ballad have been

widened as have the bounds of human interest and of human sympathy.

The points just discussed may be taken as examples of the treatment of the modern political world in the recent ballad. A further characteristic of our modern civilization is the changed and changing status of woman. This is strikingly reflected in the ballad. This is even outwardly apparent in the mere number of women among the good ballad writers. Of the three leading writers of ballads two are women, and I am inclined to put the man as number three in the list. One might easily add to the two poetesses mentioned above such significant names as Alice von Gaudy, Isolde Kurz, Irene Forbes-Mosse, Alberta von Puttkamer, Frida Schanz, and others. The growing degree of feminine political and social equality has been matched by the growth of artistic equality, if not perhaps even of preëminence in the ranks of German ballad writers.

Turning to the ballads themselves one finds a specific step in the modern development in the degree of frankness concerning the love life of these women. There had been frankness before, but it had not been chaste and genuine. One may recall for contrast some of the sultry writings of Marie Madeleine and Eugenie delle Grazie, though, to be sure, these were lyric rather than ballad. One of the best examples from the recent ballad is the masterpiece of Lulu von Strauss und Torney: *Die Nonne*. The nun has always had to rock the Christ cradle, but she has not been allowed to feel the joys of a mother. She says to Mary, the mother of Christ:

Frevel ist die Andacht meiner Lippen,
Die nach Erdenglücke durstig sind!

Sieben Schwerter schneiden
In das Mutterherz dir tief und scharf,
Siebenmal will deinen Schmerz ich leiden,
Wenn ich deine Freude trinken darf.

When the young lay sisters rock the cradle it fairly flies under their hand. She knows what they are dreaming of:

Ihre Lieder brennen
Heute seltsam heiss und überwacht,—
Sollt ich nicht aus fernen Tagen kennen,
Was so junge Augen träumen macht?

Agnes Miegel's *Das Kriegskind* glorifies the joys of the mother, even in a case of undesired motherhood. Compared with such modern baring of the feminine soul, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, for instance, scarcely ventures to suggest such a theme.

We now turn from this special social problem to the larger question of the modern social point of view. The whole naturalistic movement, with its socialistic tendencies, its idealization of the proletariat, its attempted revaluation of social values, is virgin soil for the social ballad. There were, of course, forerunners of the social ballad in the works of Chamisso and others, but it was not until naturalism that the social ballad came into its own. One needs but recall a few well-known examples, as for instance Arno Holz':

Ihr Dach stiess fast bis an die Sterne,
vom Hof her stampfte die Fabrik,

or Ludwig Scharf's:

Ich bin ein Prolet, vom Menschengetier
bin ich bei der untersten Klasse!

or Dehmel's:

Jetzt sollt ihr hören ein rauhes Lied,
von Frieden und Erbarmen leer!

and his *Der Arbeitsmann* or Karl Henckell's:

Heut hab ich Armer noch nichts gegessen.

As in these poems, so in all the others, "youngest Germany" is primarily concerned with the industrial worker or with the pariah of society. Lulu von Strauss und Torney brings in the other half of the laboring world. Though she belongs to the old nobility, her whole sympathy is with the world of the agricultural workers. Whether she writes of the peasants' war of three hundred years ago or of recent occurrences, she does for the tiller of the soil what other poets have done for the factory worker.

In *Der Bauernführer* she depicts the execution of some of the leaders of the peasant war:

Nun blieb noch einer. Thomas Münzer war's,
Der Bauern Haupt. Er stand, gestrafft den Nacken,
Aus tiefen Augenhöhlen glomm der Hass.
Der Herzog hub das Kreuz. Er mass den Mann
Mit kalten Augen:
"Bauernhund, du auch!"
Der Bauer lachte hart. Dann spie er aus
Und trat zum Block.

"Ich brauche keinen Pfaffen!
Doch, Herzog, hör's: ich klage wider dich—
Auf Blutschuld klag ich! Ich und diese Toten!
Ich lade, Herzog, dich vor Gottes Stuhl!
Ich klage; klage; klage—"

In *Des Braunschweigers Ende* the Duke proposes to fill a moat which he has not been able to pass, with living peasants to serve as a bridge:

Unedles Blut und Erlenholz
Wächst alle Tage wieder!

One of his peasant retainers, hearing these words, kills him and, though it is related objectively, we have no doubt on which side the poetess stands.

Agnes Miegel shares Lulu von Strauss und Torney's hatred of oppression. In *La Furieuse* she shows us the half-insane exultation of one of the furies attending the guillotine executions in the French revolution:

Einst im Pflug sind wir getraßt!
Aber unser Schweiss war schlecht,
Nichts ging auf als Leid und Fluchen,
Lasst's uns jetzt mit Blut versuchen,
Das ist Dung, der Felder labt,
Aber packt die Pflugschar recht!
Ça ira, ça ira.

Nothing will perhaps better exemplify the difference between the new and the old social viewpoint than a comparison of this poem with Schiller's conception of the French revolution in *Das Lied von der Glocke*. In both poems, it is true, "da werden Weiber zy Hyänen," but the social view back of the one is the conservative standpoint of the eighteenth century, the other the modern view of the twentieth century.

We have now observed the widening of the bounds of the ballad in the treatment of the modern political and of the modern social world. But nowhere is this development more apparent than where the achievements of modern industrialism play an integral rôle in a poem. When Justinus Kerner complained about the antipoetic nature of an epoch of steamboats and railroads, Gottfried Keller answered:

Und wenn vielleicht in hundert Jahren
Ein Luftschiff hoch mit Griechenwein
Durchs Morgenrot käm' hergefahren,
Wer möchte da nicht Fährmann sein?
Dann bög' ich mich, ein sel'ger Zecher,
Wohl über Bord von Kränzen schwer,
Und gösse langsam meinen Becher
Hinab in das verlassene Meer.

But in less than the hundred years which Keller grants, Agnes Miegel is singing:

Es summen die Zeppeline: Wir sind Zorn und Gericht;
and Ernst von Wolzogen writes:

Die Hangars öffnen ihre Tore weit,
und träge kriechen, Vorwelttieren gleich
und grauen Schemen riesiger Fledermäuse,
aus Draht und Drell gebrechlich aufgebaut,
ins grüne Feld die sieben Flugmaschinen.

The aviators are trying to break the altitude record. Of the one who holds the record the poet says:

Er ist ein hübscher Bursch, ein Schlossersohn,
war bis vor kurzem noch Chauffeur in Diensten
des Fabrikanten, der ihm seinen Motor,
ein Wunderwerk von Leichtigkeit gebaut,
Er selbst, Jean Bernius, hat manch Detail
daran erfunden und verbessert. Siegt er . . .
ihm schwindelt fast, er wagt's kaum auszudenken—
siegt er, dann darf er's wagen, seine Hand
kühn nach des Brotherrn Tochter auszustrecken.
Der gab's ihm selber deutlich zu verstehen,
das gnädige Fräulein lächelte ihm schon
vielsagend zu—ihm, der vor wenig Monden
mit abgezogner Mütze vor ihr stand
und—Trinkgeld nahm.

A thought of the situation in Schiller's *Taucher*, where the King promises the Diver the hand of his daughter if he is successful, and of this situation, where a machinist's son may hope to win the daughter of a manufacturer, will show us the long road the ballad has travelled in a hundred years.

The trend toward modernity may also be observed in less tangible modes, as, for instance, in the hypermodern treatment of elusive psychological problems of illusion and reality as interchangeable terms, of subtle states of the soul, of problems of the subliminal self. Agnes Miegel's *Die Mär vom Ritter Manuel* is a good example of this. Manuel puts his head into a magician's magic bowl. When he withdraws it, he imagines that he has been gone for twenty years, that his hair is gray, that he has deserted a fair wife and forgotten her name. He lives in this enchantment for several years. After his death a deputation arrives to take him home to the kingdom he has dreamed about, to the wife he had deserted and forgotten. The poetess concludes:

In jener Nacht, bei seiner Kerzen Qualmen
Sass lang der König auf. Sein Page schlief
Und schrak empor, denn eine Stimme rief:
"Sieh, keine Antwort find ich in den Psalmen!
Erbarmer aller Welt, sprich: was ist Schein?" . . .
Und lange vor dem Kruzifixe stand

Der König starr, mit ausgestreckter Hand.—
 So sagt der Page—Doch er ist noch klein,
 Furchtsam und hat den Kopf voll Märchenflausen. . . .

This is quite as modern as when Schnitzler writes:

Es fließen ineinander Traum und Wachen,
 Wahrheit und Lüge. Sicherheit ist nirgends.
 Wir wissen nichts von andern, nichts von uns;
 Wir spielen immer, wer es weiss, ist klug.

This subtle psychology is quite as characteristic of the modern ballad as the other points which I have touched on.

This brief survey will suffice to show how the modern ballad may dispense with the conventional romantic paraphernalia of the old ballad but may still make as strong an æsthetic appeal. I have not chosen my examples wherever I might find them to prove a point, but have selected them from good ballads. It goes without saying that there are very many ballads without these touches of modernism, as, for instance, Agnes Miegel's masterpiece, *Die schöne Agnete*, but the very fact that in general the ballad poet interprets life as seen in his own generation and not through the spectacles of a weak imitation, this very fact makes us feel these ballads more strongly as genuine works of art.

The question here treated could have been approached in a number of different ways. It would have been a tempting study to follow the fortunes of the ballad through early naturalism, which rejected the ballad as it rejected all historical material, through later naturalism with the masterly impressionistic poems of Liliencren, through neo-romanticism with Hofmannsthal and Rilke, and through expressionism with its welter of innovations. But the sum total in either approach is the same. What Goethe said concerning Schiller's ballads, we may say concerning the development of the modern ballad, that it means the deepening and enlarging of the realm of poetry. When it ceases to mean this, then the ballad is dead.

WORDSWORTH AND HUGH BLAIR

By E. C. KNOWLTON
Ohio Wesleyan University

In earlier papers I have set forth suggestions concerning Wordsworth's relations to the type of literature which has been denominated "pastoral."¹ The term has narrow as well as broad meanings. It may be used to include any literature connected primarily with country life. It may refer to the sort of treatment which shepherds and other herdsmen received from Theocritus in his *Idylls*, from Virgil in his *Eclogues*, and from some of their imitators. The atmosphere herein is southern or Italian; the topic is often love; set amid rural scenery, the machinery is often amœbæan and employs nymphs and satyrs.² Or the term may be used whenever the literature of any country deals with the life of people like shepherds.

The course of pastoral in the eighteenth century is as familiar to scholars as it was to Wordsworth. That great poet wished to renew the force of the type, to revitalize it for English service.³ Similar attempts had been made before sporadically; the aridity into which pastoral had fallen from strict imitation of the Greeks and Romans was well known at the time of Pope and Gay. Goldsmith, however, by modifying its scope in *The Deserted Village*, incurred the rebuke of Crabbe, who decided to tell the actual truth about hamlets. Crabbe in turn won the displeasure of Wordsworth, who felt that he misused facts.³

A more acceptable critic was Hugh Blair (1718-1800), a professor of rhetoric at the University of Edinburgh from 1760. Not

¹ "The Novelty of Wordsworth's *Michael* as a Pastoral," *P.M.L.A.*, XXXV, 432 ff.; "Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century," *M. L. N.*, XXXII, 471 ff.

² The problem was observed in France by J. F. de la Harpe, *Lycée ou Cours de la littérature ancienne et moderne*, 12 vols., Toulouse, 1813-14 (first published 1789-1805), I, 518-519; he emphasized the change in manners and climate from the southern countries, and thus pointed out that whenever the same machinery is employed in the north, the bucolics of the latter region are but "jeux d'esprit." He established his premise all the more forcibly by a parallel asserting a greater frequency of songs and dances in Provence than in northern France.

³ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Wm. Knight, Boston, 1907, 3 vols. I, 376.

only were his *Sermons* popular from the time of their publication in 1777, but his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* went through many editions subsequent to their first appearance in print, 1783.⁴

In Lecture XXXIX Blair⁵ treated at length the nature of pastoral. He gave three purposes for the author of such work: to treat the present reality, to give an imaginary picture of an earlier golden age, to attempt (what is impossible) to combine a picture of that simple and aureate past with the manners of the present, highly cultivated (aristocratic) society. In tracing the history of pastoral in Theocritus, Virgil, Sannazarius, Pope, Phillips, and Gray, he adopted about the same position concerning them as Wordsworth took later.⁶ He praised Shenstone. In addition he recommended the reënlivening of pastoral, opposing close imitations of classical models:

For why may not pastoral poetry take a wider range? Human nature, and human passions, are much the same in every rank of life; and wherever these passions operate on objects that are within the rural sphere, there may be a proper subject for pastoral. One would indeed choose to remove from this sort of composition the operations of violent and direful passions, and to present such only as are consistent with innocence, simplicity, and virtue. But under this limitation, there will still be abundant scope for a careful observer of nature to exert his genius. The various adventures which give occasion to those engaged in country life to display their disposition and temper; the scenes of domestic felicity or disquiet; the attachment of friends and brothers; the rivalry and competition of lovers; the unexpected successes or misfortunes of families, might give occasion to many a pleasing and tender incident; and were more of the narrative and sentimental intermixed with the descriptive in this kind of poetry, it would become much more interesting than it now generally is, to the bulk of readers.

In a footnote he declared, "The above observations on the barren-

⁴ A one-volume edition appeared in Philadelphia, 1784; a Philadelphia edition in two volumes (1804) derives from a ninth London edition. There are early versions in Spanish and Italian. Blair first lectured in 1759. He was overlooked by M. K. Bragg, "The Formal Eclogue in Eighteenth-Century England," *U. of Maine Studies*, 2d. Ser., No. 6. Orono, 1926.

⁵ Attention has recently been directed to Blair by G. H. Cowling, "The English Teaching of Dr. Hugh Blair," *Palæstra*, No. 148, Brandl-Festschrift, Band II. Blair offered interesting criticism on Addison's style. He also urged Macpherson to bring out his Ossianic compositions. In *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, X, 257, W. P. Ker defended his sense for style (and Goethe's) in admiring the product of his fellow Scotsman. It may be noted that the style shows not only traces of Biblical influence but effects from the Swiss Gessner; see B. Reed, *The Influence of Salomon Gessner upon English Literature*, Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 7-8, 38, as to Blair's opinion of Gessner. John Hill wrote *An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair*, Philadelphia, 1808.

⁶ *Essay Supplementary*, p. 38. Blair found that Addison, in comparing Tasso and Guarini, betrayed that he had not read the former carefully and followed an error of Bouhours in his *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit*.

ness of the common Eclogues were written before any translation from the German had made us acquainted in this country with Gessner's *Idylls*, in which the ideas that had occurred to me for the improvement of pastoral poetry, are fully realized."⁷

The program thus suggested by Blair was much the same as that fulfilled by Wordsworth.⁸ The history of pastoral, as I have indicated, is substantially identical for both. The plea for a wider field in which genius might exercise itself was of a kind congenial to a poet who analyzed the function of genius as Wordsworth did in the *Essay Supplementary* of 1815. In treating the passions—a subject of constant interest to him—he laid stress on those consistent with “innocence, simplicity, and virtue,” as in *Michael* and in *The Leechgatherer*. The dominant note is by no means jocund, even when the poet praised a Stoic endurance or derived encouragement from unexpected places. *The Idle Shepherd-Boys* shows a sudden turn in events that for youth seems nearly tragic. In fact, the scope may be widened to include *Ruth*, where the main theme falls in line with Blair's desire, because the more sinister or violent aspects of passion remain in the background. Wordsworth similarly pictured scenes of domestic felicity or disquiet; the attachment of brothers, as in *The Brothers*; the unexpected misfortunes of families. Rivalry in love Wordsworth omitted, but the Lucy poems as an elegiac group dwelling on the theme of love and picturing the girl “beside an English fire” are not in conflict with Blair's recommendations. The poet likewise emphasized the narrative element, and, if I understand the sense of the adjective as Blair used it, the sentimental element. That is, he paused for sympathetic reflection or meditation on the circumstances and offered suggestions for the reader's reaction (like those of a Greek

⁷ James Beattie in his *Remarks on the Usefulness of Classical Learning* included in the 3d. edit. (corrected) of his *Essays on Poetry and Music*, London, 1779, p. 484, hints at a breadth in the term “pastoral” thus: “And those foreigners must entertain a high opinion of our Pastoral poetry, who have seen the Latin translations of Vincent Bourne, particularly those of the ballads of *Tweedside*, *William and Margaret*, and Rowe's *Despairing beside a clear stream*; on which it is no compliment to say, that in sweetness of numbers, and elegant expression, they are at least equal to the originals, and scarce inferior to any thing in Ovid or Tibullus.” Beattie expresses himself on pastoral elsewhere, p. 493, and also in the chief essay of the volume, pp. 109-110. Cf. the approval of Blair's views in Alexander Jamieson, *Grammar of Rhetoric and Polite Literature*, 4th edition, New Haven, 1826 (introduction dated 1818).

⁸ The contrast between Blair and Samuel Johnson will become evident if one reads *The Rambler*, Nos. 36 and 37, and the *Lives of the Poets*, references to pastorals in his discussion of Thomson, Ambrose Phillips, Gay, Congreve.

chorus). Thus the program supported by Blair was, to a large extent, executed by Wordsworth. At times, to be sure, Wordsworth went beyond the limits of the tentative program that Blair offered. For instance, the point of view taken resulted in hints for reaction scarcely to be foreseen. A case of this nature is *The Cumberland Beggar*, where the author employed an unhappy situation in individual experience and in social economy, and extracted therefrom the comfort that those who give to the beggar really offer testimony that there are some people who have kindly feelings of a sort which expresses itself in action. And again the poet deepened the poignancy of certain episodes until they became tragic, and at times intimated, as in the last Lucy poem, the vastness of the somewhat impersonal earth on which we live.

That Wordsworth knew Blair's work at first hand is uncertain, but probable.⁹ Aside from the evidence that he read the critical theories of Great Britain in the eighteenth century,¹⁰ and aside from his study of the poets of that age, he was an ardent reader who felt that he must have access to a good library. The fact that he collected many books himself is an indication of the tendency, and we know that he went beyond what was in his own collection. The popularity of Blair for sermons and for criticism renders it likely that Wordsworth had considered his opinions, especially on a subject which interested him, such as that of the pastoral. Nevertheless, Blair's program,¹¹ as I have called it, was really expressing what hung in the air, and Wordsworth may have caught it thence.

⁹ The argument that since Wordsworth was silent in the matter we must therefore presume ignorance is well known to be untenable in his case. I find no direct record in his works, none observed by K. Lienemann, *Die Belesenheit von William Wordsworth*, Berlin, 1908, and none in the Rydal Mount Library Catalogue, *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 6.

¹⁰ Wordsworth's study of the eighteenth-century theorists as to art, literature, and ethics (besides Godwin and Rousseau) has received much emphasis recently from O. J. Campbell, "Sentimental Morality in Wordsworth's Narrative Poetry," *U. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, Madison, 1920, pp. 21 ff.; Arthur Beatty, "Wordsworth and Hartley," *Nation* (New York), XCII, pp. 51 ff.; and "William Wordsworth, His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations," *U. of Wisconsin Studies*, Madison, 1922. Dr. Campbell points out relations to Hartley (as does Dr. Beatty).

¹¹ Though Blair makes no claim to originality, and may have read Fontenelle's "Discours sur la nature de l'épique," (*Poésies Pastorales*, 3d edit., Paris, 1708), he appears definitely to have gone beyond the French author. The same may be said as regards Marmontel, *Œuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1787, *Éléments de Littérature*, III, 68 ff., "Épique," IV, 134 ff., "Idylle"; *Poétique Française*, 2 vols., Paris, 1763, II, ch. xviii, 483 ff., "De l'Épique."

It is important to note that the novelty of Wordsworth's pastoral had support in a popular critic of the eighteenth century who in a sense helped to prepare part of the public to receive Wordsworth's creative work with something like appreciation. It is further important to perceive that Wordsworth with his pastoral tendencies was not in isolation. By later papers, I intend to point out through a study of Southey, the writers of eclogues from about 1800 to 1825, Landor, and others, what became of pastoral after 1800.¹² The study will have a bearing on dramatic monologues like those of Tennyson and Browning.

¹² At this round date of 1800 critics are accustomed to say that save for elegy, pastoral disappeared. If pastoral must include the pagan machinery of classical Greece and Rome, the conventional view is right. If pastoral during the latter part of the eighteenth century came to include and to suggest something else for England, we must see that the form did not die about 1800 and that it may be traced in the nineteenth century. Some of the puzzles here have been discussed by M. H. Shackford, "A Definition of the Pastoral Idyll," *P.M.L.A.*, XIX, 583 ff.; R. F. Jones, "Eclogue Types in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century," *Jour. Eng. Germ. Philol.*, XXIV, 33 ff. That the range is wide is further shown by the article on *Pastoral* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and by some corresponding encyclopedias in foreign languages. Simple illustrations are idyls by George Sand and Björnsen. Or again, we may take Platen's *Eklogen und Idyllen* (dated 1827-33), such as *Die Fischer auf Capri*, *Amalfi*, *Hirte und Winzerin*, *Das Fischermädchen in Burano*.

L'HOMME POLITIQUE DANS LE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS CONTEMPORAIN

Par MAURICE BAUDIN
Miami University

La satire de la vie publique jouit assez paisiblement des planches depuis la troisième République.¹ D'abord anecdotique et personnelle, bravache, malveillante, elle connut la grosse popularité;² mais les scandales parlementaires et leurs protagonistes manquant d'imprévu, la matière s'épuisa.³ Dans ces vingt-cinq dernières années, quand une invention féconde eut renouvelé le sujet, la politique est devenue une des sources les plus abondantes de la haute comédie.

Le théâtre s'est accoutumé à l'indulgence du régime. Un grain de philosophie a tempéré son humeur première. Les auteurs contemporains ont moins de parti pris, une curiosité plus avertie, un esprit plus large.⁴ Ils fustigent hardiment l'âpreté et le stupre de la concurrence politique; mais sans méconnaître pourtant les forces qu'elle déclenche et les sacrifices qu'elle demande. Ils tâchent à représenter l'intense vie publique de la France avec mesure et équité.⁵ Leurs pièces sont des chroniques vigoureuses et bien équilibrées.

¹ On exagère parfois la sévérité de la censure. Elle a interdit la longue diffamation qu'est la "Journée parlementaire" de Barrès; mais elle se contentait généralement de quelques modifications; voir, par ex.: "l'Engrenage" II, ix, xii; III, vi.

² Cf.: A. Kahn, "Le Théâtre Social en France"; "L'Évolution du Théâtre Contemporain," Séché et Bertaut; Sarcey, "Quarante Ans de Théâtre," Tomes 5, et 6; Doumic, "Essais sur le Théâtre Contemporain," pp. 269 et seq.

³ M. E. Arène disait ("Figaro," Avril 1906): "Au théâtre la politique a aussi mauvaise réputation que l'argent. Ce sont matières assez ingrates qui n'ont pas l'art d'enthousiasmer les directeurs." Or, la période que nous considérons a une moyenne de trois pièces par saison dont la politique fait une partie des frais. "C'est que là encore, ajoutait M. Arène, il y a la manière."

⁴ Parmi les plus connus: A. Capus, E. Sée, H. Kistemaekers, P. Bourget, H. Bernstein, E. Fabre, H. Bataille. Ces noms suffisent à assurer la valeur littéraire des ouvrages. Plusieurs de ces auteurs ont passé par la vie politique.

⁵ Ils ne se tiennent pas au rôle de simple témoin, celui d'éclaireur n'est pas pour les effrayer. En donnant une forme concrète aux programmes du jour, ils veulent montrer aux gouvernants les conséquences pratiques probables des diverses doctrines. Ils s'élèvent au-dessus de la compétition politique, et en

La critique reconnaît qu'ils se servent de faits incontestables qu'ils ont discrètement sollicités. Elle n'a plus à leur reprocher de peindre des personnalités connues, ou de décalquer les notoires Affaires. Certes, nos dramaturges s'inspirent du spectacle qu'ils ont sous les yeux; et il serait sans doute impossible d'exposer une utopie récente, une pratique journalière, de rendre un milieu politique actuel sans suggérer des rapprochements. Mais si les Capus, les Bourget, les Fabre empruntent aux préoccupations du moment et aux hommes en vue les traits nécessaires au crédit de leurs thèses, ils restent, néanmoins, dans le domaine des abstractions. Leur satire tombe sur les procédés sans évoquer autrement tel ou tel conflit qui les aurait illustrés; elle ne frappe que par ricochet les personnes dont les actions leur fournissent leurs fables.

S'il n'est guère aujourd'hui de pièces qui ne contiennent un à-côté politique, il en est peu dont la politique soit tout le sujet, ou même, le sujet principal. Les intrigues du vieux répertoire ont envahi le monde où l'on s'ennuyait. Le politicien qu'on y rencontre à présent est un politicien amoureux,⁶ un politicien homme d'affaires,⁷ voire, un politicien malgré lui;⁸ ce n'est plus, à de rares exceptions, le politicien tout court. La scène se passe d'ordinaire dans l'entourage d'un leader, à la veille d'un bouleversement ministériel; mais il est tout de suite évident que le sort du gouvernement n'exige pas toute notre attention, et les premières répliques annoncent des aventures d'un autre ordre.⁹ La politique n'en est cependant pas moins étroitement liée à l'action.

C'est qu'aussi bien le point de vue a changé, le but n'est pas le même. Le théâtre ne se contente plus de reporter le fait divers de la dispute; il veut étudier les dessous psychologiques des batailles. Or, les causes des conflits provenant moins du choc de principes que de la rivalité de personnes, l'appareil de la tribune n'en saurait donner qu'une notion imparfaite. L'intérêt devra

appellent à la conscience publique pour débattre avec impartialité les questions sociales dont l'atmosphère est saturée ("Le Tribun"; "l'Apôtre," "le Dictateur," J. Romains; "le Repas du lion"; "la Passante," Kistemaekers).

⁶ "La Crise"; "la Rencontre"; "la Griffes," Bernstein; "la Dépositaire," Sée; "la Danse de minuit"; etc. . .

⁷ "Paraître," Donnay, I, iii; "L'École des Cocottes," Armont et Gerbidon, III, x; "Bertrade," II, i; "le Passe-Partout," Thurner, II, vi.

⁸ Ou du moins, politicien par sa femme. Voir "l'Adversaire," Capus, I, ii; "les Favorites"; "la Figurante," I, i.

⁹ Dans "la Crise," par ex., il y a crise parlementaire et crise sentimentale, la première précipitant l'autre.

se porter sur la coulisse des assemblées (salon, cabaret, alcôve: la politique est partout, a mêlé tous les mondes)¹⁰ où s'aiguisent les ambitions et se combinent les savantes manœuvres. C'est sur le côté privé de la vie publique, si je puis ainsi dire, que se lève le rideau. On nous montrera l'homme public dans son intérieur, et, au lieu de la tapageuse épopée d'un meneur victorieux, la lutte secrète avec ses désespoirs et ses énergies, ses abnégations et ses tares: la lente et pénible montée vers le pouvoir.

L'on étudiera particulièrement l'empreinte que la politique met sur ses adeptes. Aux Rabagas et aux Leveaux, sauteurs faméliques dont la politique était la seule raison d'être, ou naïfs parvenus que la politique n'entamait pas, puisqu'ils y voyaient surtout un moyen d'accroître leurs revenus, à l'opportuniste et au dilettante qui promenaient dans la vie publique l'un son socialisme brumeux,¹¹ l'autre sa superbe insuffisance, ont succédé, pour les premiers rôles, du moins, des personnages d'une individualité nette, puissante et variée.¹² La politique n'est pas une fatalité de leur nature; mais elle est pour eux plus qu'un passe-temps et mieux qu'une affaire. Elle est une profession qu'ils ont choisie parmi les professions qu'ils pourraient suivre.¹³ Ils lui apportent des talents et de la bonne volonté, un enthousiasme profond, quelque grandeur d'âme . . . et tout cela est étouffé par la charlatanerie du métier qu'elle impose.¹⁴

Un critique disait de *l'Engrenage* de Brieux (1894) qu'on y voit "comme le Palais-Bourbon pourrit le cœur d'un brave homme."¹⁵ Ce jugement définit sans doute l'intention de l'auteur; mais il exagère singulièrement la portée de la pièce. D'abord, le député Ré moussin n'est pas profondément corrompu, et son cœur

¹⁰ "Les affaires d'état ne se règlent utilement qu'au café." "Tribun," I, i. "Il y a beaucoup de salons politiques . . . et ils mènent à tout." "Sa Fille," Duquesnel et Barde, I, i. "Quand on a cherché Duprat, lors de la dernière crise ministérielle, pour lui offrir l'Intérieur . . . il était dans les coulisses des Variétés." "Attentat," II, v.

¹¹ "Les Mauvais bergers" de Mirbeau, par exemple, "la Barricade" de Bourget.

¹² Les noms indiquent cela. Les personnages accessoires s'appelleront: Barbuteau, Vernod, Frépeau; les protagonistes: Daygrand, Arnaut, Méritail; un ministre sortant se nomme Clément-Moulin; son remplaçant (rôle important) Ferrand. Les personnages vraiment ridicules de ce théâtre ne paraissent pas sur la scène, tel le président de la République.

¹³ Cf., pour contraste: "Le Culte de l'Incompétence," E. Faguet, p. 30.

¹⁴ Il y a, bien entendu, des exceptions; "le Scandale," Bataille, IV, iv; le personnage de Vincent Leclerc de "la Griffes"; "la Passante."

¹⁵ E. de Saint-Auban, "L'Idée sociale au théâtre."

lui dicte un acte qui rachète son crime. Nous ne saurions admettre non plus que la politique ait fait tout le mal. Pour brave homme qu'il soit, Rémoussin est très pliable; déjà lors de son élection, il s'accommodait des subterfuges de ses collaborateurs. Provincial ébloui et passablement vaniteux, il est la proie désignée des intriguants de la cour et de la ville; mais son malheur, en somme, c'est de s'être laissé mener par sa femme qui, pour elle, n'a pas attendu les enseignements du Palais-Bourbon.

Si la pièce n'a pas la signification qu'on lui trouvait, elle décrit pourtant avec vigueur la "maîtresse de mensonge, d'hypocrisie et de lâcheté." La peinture du milieu était faite; il restait à y mettre des rôles capables de la faire valoir. Les dramaturges qui ont d'abord imité *l'Engrenage* n'ont pas dépassé le modèle, si toutefois ils l'ont atteint. Eux aussi créent le personnage en vue du dénouement, et de plus, ils négligent de préciser les circonstances et les étapes de sa chute.¹⁶ *La Vie publique* d'É. Fabre (1901) est la première œuvre qui joigne à une pénétrante étude du monde de la politique des personnages et des conflits propres à en faire sonder les recoins, et nous fasse assister au spectacle de la déchéance progressive (bien que rapide) de l'honnête homme fourvoyé dans cette arène.

Pour mettre fin à une désastreuse administration, Ferrier accepta d'être maire de Salente. L'exécution de son programme n'est pas terminée à l'expiration de son terme, et il demande le renouvellement de son mandat. Il est combattu jusque dans son parti où sa sévérité a causé des défections, et, malgré les cris de ses collègues, il s'entête à "faire le moins de politique possible."

Mais il est bientôt forcé de reconnaître que ses scrupules n'avancent pas son élection. Les concurrents se font de plus en plus menaçants, et l'on peut enfin lui démontrer que l'échec est inévitable s'il persiste à rester hors du mouvement. Il consent alors à suivre un conseil; et le voilà dans les ordinaires intrigues des campagnes électorales. Il accueille, une à une pour commencer, et finalement par blocs, toutes les tactiques qu'on lui propose, en découvre lui-même de fort utiles. Au moindre présage de défaite, il jette du lest.

Il n'a pas le sentiment de démériter, n'ayant pas l'intention de tenir les engagements qu'il prend. Se faire élire doit être—il a fini par le comprendre—le premier souci du candidat, et les élec-

¹⁶ "La Poigne," de J. Jullien; "les Complaisances," de G. Devore.

tions sont des encans dont le butin est aux plus malins; pour lui, Ferrier, une fois élu, il se relèvera, et les "grandes choses," qu'il fera compenseront le prix de la place. Ce qui est plus certain, se dit le spectateur, c'est que lorsqu'il s'agira de "cuisiner" une manœuvre, Ferrier ne répugnera plus à la besogne.

Nous considérerons tout de suite une autre comédie de M. Fabre, *les Vainqueurs* (1909), dont nous résumerons la partie la plus neuve. Le fonds est le même; c'est l'histoire du candidat qui touchant au but ne reculera devant aucun sacrifice plutôt que de n'y pas arriver. Mais le conflit s'est élargi au point que tout l'homme y passe.

A quarante ans Daygrand était petit avocat de province. Un acte de bravoure lui valut un siège de député. Sans relations ni fortune, il se fit connaître à la Chambre et au Palais par son talent, une patiente énergie et une parfaite droiture de caractère. Cela prit vingt ans. La pièce s'ouvre sur la réalisation de ses espérances: il va devenir ministre.

A la veille de l'interpellation qui doit le porter au pinacle, ses ennemis l'accusent de fraude. En réalité, il s'est laissé bernier par un nommé Redan, client de son étude; en confessant une imprudence, il se justifierait devant ses confrères les avocats. Mais, ses adversaires politiques exploitant sa mésaventure, ne faudrait-il pas renoncer à être ministre? Redan offre d'arranger les choses, à la condition que Daygrand devienne son associé. L'honnête homme indigné allait écrire au procureur de la République quand des journalistes sollicitèrent un interview; rappelé au sentiment de sa situation politique, il n'a plus songé à faire arrêter le voleur. Le lendemain, malgré les supplications étonnées de son fils,¹⁷ il ne rejetait pas la combinaison.

M^{me} Daygrand a emprunté au banquier Leprieur la somme que son mari doit mettre dans cette association, et un journal publie que Leprieur a été l'amant de M^{me} Daygrand. Anéanti par l'aveu de sa femme, Daygrand abandonnait la partie quand on lui apprit que, ne le jugeant pas en posture de renverser un ministère, son groupe lui retirerait l'interpellation. Et il est allé lui-même—son fils s'y refusait—prendre l'argent que Leprieur donnait. . .

Il eut son triomphe, écrasa de son éloquence ceux qui avaient cru lui barrer la route. L'opinion exigeant plus ample satisfaction,

¹⁷ Je recommande cette scène au lecteur (II, v), elle atteint à une hauteur peu commune.

il envoya son fils se battre avec un duelliste redoutable. Il apprit en même temps qu'il était ministre et que son fils était mort, et il ne put se rendre ce jour-là chez le président de la République.

Il est allé le lendemain.

La morale de la fable est donnée par le gremlin (c'est Redan que je veux dire, on pourrait se tromper) : Nous sommes logés, dit-il, à l'enseigne du "Sabotage universel." La pièce est en effet un catalogue à peu près complet des ravages de la tourmente politique. Si nous n'avions dû nous en tenir au seul Daygrand, nous aurions montré tout un groupe de gens d'élite qui se dépravent aux côtés de leur chef. Vienne le mirage de la domination et aucun homme ne résiste, et nulle vergogne ne tient.

Les deux comédies de M. Fabre sont, chacune en sa partie, les pièces types du théâtre politique proprement dit. Leur influence, pour ce qui est du tableau de la vie publique et de l'analyse des passions qui s'y déchainent, se retrouve partout. Mais le thème en est, dans le cadre que l'auteur s'est prescrit, assez restreint, et les confrères de M. Fabre n'ont guère été tentés d'y revenir. Ils ont gardé son point de vue et sa philosophie du sujet, seule la manière a changé. Comme nous le disions plus haut, la politique est aujourd'hui un accessoire (des plus importants, certes; elle fournira des scènes entières) de drames dont le nœud est ailleurs. En ce qui regarde son empreinte, ils se contentent de tracer la déformation que subit l'homme public dans le cours de sa carrière; la pierre de touche est, en général, une épreuve intime.

Et le drame domestique suffit amplement à exposer l'ambiance de la vie publique. Il indique clairement, mieux sans doute que ne le pourraient de copieuses images de choses vues,¹⁸ les traits principaux de la situation actuelle. Nous tenterons d'indiquer quelques-unes de ses conclusions.

Le personnage de Deslignières qui représentait jadis "le fonds même des idées moyennes du pays"¹⁹ a presque entièrement disparu du théâtre. Il s'est lassé d'une position où il n'a rien donné et rien reçu. "La politique est l'expression d'un tempérament,"²⁰ et à

¹⁸ C'est ainsi par ex., que "L'Aventurier" de Capus dont la scène est à la campagne nous donne une minutieuse description du jeu des tactiques de la Chambre des députés. Voir: "le Tribun," III, i; "les Favorites," II, v; "la Crise," I, iv; "la Griffie," IV, vi; "la Dépositaire," I.

¹⁹ "Le Député Leveau."

²⁰ "L'Enfant de l'amour," Bataille, I. ix. "... représentant de l'opinion moyenne . . . C'est-à-dire de l'absence d'opinions," "la Passante," II, xi.

moins de vouloir n'être qu'un "député honoraire," on doit faire preuve de quelque virtuosité. Le provincial frais nommé parle encore des "vrais intérêts du pays"; mais aux sourires qui accueillent ses discours il reconnaît bientôt qu'il y aurait folie à s'attarder sur un sujet auquel personne ne songe; et il ne manque pas, du reste, de se découvrir une irrésistible vocation pour le pouvoir.

La Rencontre de P. Berton (1909) suit l'évolution de Desli-gnières. Serval a vu son programme tomber aux mains d'orateurs qui en ont fait du boniment pour la foire aux votes, et, ne voulant pas contribuer à la ruine de sages idées, il a pris le langage de la raison pour dénoncer la folle enchère de son propre parti. Cela lui coûta son autorité. Mais la leçon a servi, et quand une autre occasion s'est présentée, Serval n'a plus été maître de son éloquence.²¹

La déformation de l'homme politique prend des voies diverses. A côté d'un Serval qui pour se faire entendre aura recours à l'invective, nous trouvons des leaders arrivés, hommes d'État de belle envergure, qui pour garder leur influence versent dans l'exagération (*le Tribun*, Bourget), la duplicité (*l'Apôtre*, Loyson), le chantage (*l'Assaut*, Bernstein).

Prenons *l'Apôtre*. Républicain des pénibles commencements de la République, Arnaut a pu dire: "C'est la vertu de la démocratie, c'est la ferveur de l'idéal qui fut le principe de toute ma vie." Il y a, néanmoins, longtemps qu'il mène le combat, et sa sensibilité s'est émoussée. Il ne sait plus se résoudre à perdre une bataille. Ce même Arnaut qui frémit de la terrible rapidité avec laquelle se décompose aujourd'hui la conscience des jeunes refuse de sévir contre des collaborateurs malhonnêtes, pour ne pas affaiblir le parti. Il se convainc que "ce qui se passe dans la cale ne regarde pas le pilote," que lorsque la lutte est grave on doit songer aux responsabilités plus hautes, et qu'en somme, "un chef doit tout à son parti, jusqu'au sacrifice de sa conscience."²²

Dans la pièce de Bourget, un ancien professeur de philosophie est au pouvoir. L'austérité de sa vie suffirait à prouver que les théories qu'il préconise ne sont pas une vaine étiquette; et, à en juger par ce que l'intrigue nous apprend par ailleurs, les services qu'il veut rendre ne seraient pas tous inutiles. Mais les violences de son programme, ses projets draconiens, comme il lui plaît à dire, tout cet excès de radicalisme est nourri des applaudissements de

²¹ Comp.: II, viii et IV, i. Voir: "les Favorites," I, i; "la Crise," I, iv.

²² III. Un autre personnage, Ferrand, subit la même déformation, II.

la foule. "Si j'ai une prise sur le peuple, si j'ai pu tenir des dix mille auditeurs vibrants sous ma parole, c'est à cette intransigeance que je le dois."²³ Et c'est par là qu'on le tient. Car pour continuer de mériter "ce nom de Tribun que l'on me donne, et que j'aime" et qui assure son règne, il doit toujours aller plus avant. Le philosophe est si bien dépassé, que pour se tirer d'un mauvais pas, le Tribun s'abaisse aux mesquines combinaisons du politicien aux abois.²⁴

La déformation de l'homme privé est à peu près uniforme. Obligé par sa profession "d'être en contact avec tous les mondes,"²⁵ il s'encanaille (*l'Attentat*, *les Favorites* d'A. Capus),²⁶ Guetté, soupçonné, menacé, toujours à se défendre, toujours à se battre, il devient féroce égoïste (*la Crise* de P. Bourget et A. Beaunier; *la Danse de minuit* de C. Méré; *Mon Ami Teddy* de A. Rivoire et L. Besnard; *les Marchands de gloire* de M. Pagnol et P. Nivoix). Comme nous ne pouvons pas, faute de place, entrer dans les détails de la diversité des nuances auxquelles le thème s'est prêté, nous nous contenterons d'analyser brièvement *la Crise*.

Depuis quatre ans qu'ils se connaissent, Ravardin a pu apprécier la délicatesse et la loyauté de Gisèle Leprieur; mais il vient justement d'être choisi pour former un cabinet quand elle lui demande de mettre fin à leur situation irrégulière en l'épousant. Or, victime d'un mari jaloux, elle fut, il y a quelque dix ans, l'héroïne d'une malheureuse histoire. Les journaux de l'opposition ne se serviraient-ils pas du scandale qu'il y a eu autour de M^{me} Leprieur pour déshonorer M^{me} Ravardin . . . et, par là, entraver la carrière de son mari?

Ravardin ne veut cependant pas rompre avec une amie qui lui est chère; il entend la garder pour compagne, puisque le souci de l'opinion lui défend d'en faire sa femme. Un incident livre au public le roman du jeune ministre. Et le public s'attendrit. Les noms de Ravardin et de Gisèle volent de bouche en bouche dans une vague de popularité immense. Maintenant que le public a dit oui, Ravardin offre sa main; et il ne parvient pas à s'expliquer le refus écœuré de la jeune femme. Soupçonnant l'existence d'un rival, il force Gisèle, par une manœuvre adroite, à déclarer devant l'autre qu'elle a été sa maîtresse.

²³ I, vi.

²⁴ III, i.

²⁵ "L'Attentat," II, v. Voir: "Qui Perd gagne," P. Veber, II, x.

²⁶ Il devient très accommodant, "la Menace," Frondaie, III, iv.

Les compétitions politiques obscurcissent la conscience, la doctrine enveloppe l'homme, et les principes cèdent à l'esprit de parti. Dans une profession où il ne s'agit que de "tomber" le concurrent, la souplesse et le bagout sont les seules armes qui valent; et puisque le succès couvre tout, répond à tout, justifie tout, bien fol est qui s'irait embarrasser de scrupules. Les plus forts, tels qui sont partis debout vers un généreux idéal sont minés tôt ou tard par le souci de leur carrière, se soumettent aux rangons d'usage, et vont aux places.

L'homme prend les habitudes d'esprit du politicien. Accoutumé à ne jamais dire tout à fait la vérité, il apportera dans ses relations personnelles les menues habiletés des meetings. Homme public, ne vivant que pour le public, il assujettit aux exigences de la galerie, avec une facilité dont on ne saurait dire si c'est plutôt cynisme qu'inconscience, toute sa personne et tous ceux qui tombent sous sa griffe. Pour étayer une situation, pour monter plus haut, il n'est bassesse, lâcheté, infamie qui coûte. La défaite intime des triomphateurs est si complète, tellement abominable leur dépravation morale, qu'aux oreilles du spectateur avisé les acclamations qui saluent les victoires sonnent comme des huées.²⁷

Cependant, "toute réussite, dit l'auteur de *la Crise*, toute réussite suppose de la force et toute la force implique un talent."²⁸ Si vivant dans un marais où "grouillent tous les miasmes de l'ambition, de l'intérêt et de la haine," le personnage politique est finalement contaminé, il n'en est pas moins (dans les premiers rôles) doué de supériorités indiscutables, désireux d'exercer une action utile. "Vous travaillez, lui dit-on, en pleine fange; voilà ce qui avilit votre carrière.—C'est, réplique-t-il, ce qui fait sa grandeur. . . Le médecin aussi doit tremper ses mains dans l'ordure humaine . . . mais il ne pense qu'aux souffrances qu'il doit soulager."²⁹

La Bruyère disait: "La plus grande passion de ceux qui ont les premières places dans un état populaire n'est pas le désir du gain . . . mais une impatience de s'agrandir et de se fonder, s'il se pouvait, une souveraine puissance sur celle du peuple." Si nous ajoutons le mot d'un politicien de l'abre: "C'est l'excuse et la beauté de nos luttes furieuses que nous y mettions en enjeu notre vie," nous aurons l'épigraphe du théâtre politique contemporain.

²⁷ Il est vrai que huées et acclamations se chantent sur le même air; "l'Attentat," V, ix.

²⁸ "Le Matin," Avril, 1912.

²⁹ "La Rencontre," I, vii.

MILTON'S PURITANISM; OR, THE ISSUE CLOUDED

By ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON
University of Iowa

To the term *Puritan* no one precise meaning has ever been consistently assigned. Some historians have used it simply to designate those reformers within the Church who aimed to rid it of some of its Roman forms and observances, and have clearly distinguished them from the Presbyterians and Independents, who, from their more extreme positions outside the Establishment, carried on the struggle for reform. In that sense, of non-conformity within the Church, Puritanism was almost stamped out before the civil and religious turmoil of the seventeenth century reached its height; for what is usually called the Puritan victory was won by Presbyterians and Independents. Consequently, most historians have been satisfied to employ the word *Puritan* in a broader sense to denote non-conformity in general, and, for more exact specification, have recognized such various factions within the party as were acknowledged by the "sectaries" themselves. Recently, philosophical and theological distinctions have been more often stressed, with the result that Puritanism has become a less and less determinate conception. Milton was no Puritan, we are told, because he did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. He was no Puritan, likewise, because both his poetry and his prose are so tinged with the teachings of the Stoics. And, finally, he could hardly have been a Puritan when he attacked bitterly, as he did, some other Puritans. All precision of thought and speech is lost by this clouding of the issue.

One may rightly feel that the decision in the matter rests largely with the historians—authorities like Neal, Gardiner, Prothero, and Firth. And one may possibly be forgiven who can see no gain in a so-called scientific approach to the difficulty. Historians, at least, have considered it from the standpoint of an organization and a policy. It is quite true that, after Puritanism had gained its ascendancy in one party, and the influence of Archbishop Laud had become dominant in the other, non-conformity was largely Calvinist

in theology and conformity largely Arminian. But, in the early days of the Puritan conflict, Arminians and Calvinists were to be found in both camps. The issue was first drawn on matters of detail, on things "indifferent," such as the wearing of the prescribed surplice, the use of the ring in the marriage ceremony, the lawfulness of "prophesyings," and the proper observance of the Sabbath. Then, under the leadership of Cartwright, Puritanism assailed the fundamental organization of the Church. And at last the conflict became almost wholly political. From the state-documents of the time, the proclamations of Queen, King, and Primates, as well as from the manifestoes of the reformers themselves, theological questions are noticeably absent. There were laws, to be sure, against anti-Trinitarians. But no law definitely prescribed the Arminian belief, and even after the two parties had very sharply divided as Calvinists and Arminians, Archbishop Laud was most insistent on knowing, not what his clergy believed, but what the churches were doing in regard to the position of the communion table, the wearing of the surplice, and the making of the sign of the cross in baptism. That Milton did not accept "absolute dualism" as his philosophy or admit "absolute human corruption" as his conception of life, would not have washed him, in the eyes of Laud, of the smirch of Puritanism. A man might do neither and still, if he did not obey the Act of Uniformity, be a Puritan.

To insist that Milton was no Puritan since he did not look on life just as all other Separatists did, is to overlook the main issues between conformity and non-conformity. Such a misreading of history can be carried still further. One recent writer has banished Milton from the Puritan camp on the ground that he "expended his tremendous energy doing things in the *here and now*." Fortunately or unfortunately, John Eliot and Oliver Cromwell had much of that same tremendous energy. The same critic asserts that Milton's "love for the sensuously beautiful" and his "sensuous presentation of the purely spiritual and conceptual" *prove* him to have been no Puritan. For consistency in the matter, one should also dismiss John Bunyan. Nor is the problem clarified any when we are assured that no Puritan would ever have been so unfeeling as to declare that the new presbyters were only the old priests writ large. By this same argument one could prove that no Puritan ever existed. Certainly, Independents in general bickered with the Presbyterians, and Presbyterians quarreled with

the Independents, to the great scandal of orthodox Churchmen, and neither, therefore, can be called Puritans. So all factions may be excluded, and the Puritans will have to be relegated with Shakespeare's *Anthropophagi* to the realm of fable.

These seem to be the plain facts in the case. Milton was brought up in a Puritan home, despite the fact that his father had a love for music that Jonson's Ananias did not possess, and was trained by a Puritan tutor. He abandoned the thought of entering the Church when he came to feel that his individual liberty would be jeopardized by such a step. Nevertheless, in "*Lycidas*" he protested, as a reformer in the Church, against the laziness and selfishness of the clergy. Then he separated from the Church and in his ecclesiastical tracts attacked the whole "regiment" of the Church from the standpoint of the Presbyterian. But Milton did not long remain in that party and was soon fighting with the Independents. Even there, however, the praise and warning that he simultaneously addressed to Cromwell showed him to be still an individualist. One of the last of his prose works, the *Likeliest Means*, bears plainly the marks of Independency. Presumably, when Cromwell's Council looked about for a fit Latin secretary, it chose a man at least in general sympathy with the Puritan movement, rather than one in open hostility to it.

But if Milton simply must be ousted, at this late day, from the Puritan party, it might seemingly be enough to leave him among the undefined "sectaries" and "novelists." Wishing, however, to fix his position more exactly, Professors Liljegren and Mutschmann have insisted that he be regarded as a Roman Stoic. But Stoicism is found everywhere in the weave of seventeenth-century thought. Bishop Hall admitted and justified its presence as an integral part of his philosophy of life; Sir Thomas Browne wrote sometimes in the same strain; and many of the essayists at least assume the pose. All this is quite natural. As Bishop Hall argued, Stoicism and Christianity occupy in part a common ground. Overlooking this fact, Professor Larson has recently called *Comus* pagan, rather than Christian, for no other reason than that it presents thoughts in perfect harmony with the best pagan teaching. With equal force one might argue that Bishop is no Christian since he practises a temperance recommended by Epictetus. Professor Larson, also, seeing that Milton did not accept all that many Puritans believed, would not call him a Puritan.

For the sake of consistency, then, he should not call him a Stoic either, since Milton did not accept all the articles in the Stoic creed, as Professor Larson himself draws them up. Certainly, Milton believed in a future life, and he never faced human experience "without emotion as fate or fortune may dictate." A touch of Stoical philosophy such as is found in Milton's poetry was too common in those days to excite comment.

The problem is not unique in the history of literature. The same difficulty must be faced by one trying to define accurately Carlyle's position in religion and politics. In Milton's complex mental and spiritual natures many separate threads were woven. He was intensely individualistic, moreover, and judged all questions from his own, personal point of view. Furthermore, he lived in an unstable, ever-shifting world of opinion. But he was counted with the Puritans in his own day, and he has been classed as a Puritan ever since by our recognized historians. To cloud the issue now by insisting on new bases for judgment will not enable us to understand Milton one whit the better.

NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE'S CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY

By DOUGLAS BUSH
Harvard University

The following items add, I hope, some new facts or additional illustrations to the sources of Shakespeare's classical mythology discussed in Professor Root's *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* (1903) and the notes of the editors. They are not offered as actual sources, but only as evidence of the currency of certain ideas.

Actaeon.—In *Tw.N.* (I, i, 22) the duke, referring to the story of Actaeon, says that his own desires, like hounds, pursue him. This allegorical conceit has been noted in the fifth sonnet of Daniel's *Delia* (1592), in G. Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (ed. 1586, p. 15), and in the Epistle Dedicatory of Adlington's *Golden Ass* (1566). Another example occurs in Abraham Fraunce, *Third Part of the Countess of Pembroke's Iychurch* (1592, p. 43): "As Actaeon was deuoured of his owne doggs, so he be distracted and torne in peeces with his owne affections, and perturbations." Fraunce also uses the name 'Ringwood,' which was the last name in Golding's list of dogs, and which Shakespeare uses in connection with Actaeon in *Merry Wives* (II, i, 122).

Aeolus.—There are references to "brazen caves" and binding the winds "in brass" in *Hen. VI*, Pt. Two (III, ii, 89) and *Per.* (III, i, 3). Since Vergil does not mention brass, Mr. Root cites *Odyssey* x. 2. But brass might be inferred from Vergil's "vinclis et carcere"; this Vergilian passage, incidentally, is quoted in Fraunce's book, p. 15. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae* (ll. 73-4) has: "si forte adversus aënos Aeolus obiecit postes." Heywood, *Troia Britannica* (1609), canto 4, p. 92, writes:

The blustering winds before they had a king
To locke them fast within his brazen Caves.

Ajax.—The slaughter of sheep is referred to in *L. L. L.* (IV, iii, 7) and in *Hen. VI*, Pt. Two (V, i, 26). Mr. Root (p. 36) cites Sophocles and Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3.202. The Arden edition of *Hen. VI* (ed. Hart, p. 177) quotes Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax*

(1596). But the tale had appeared in English before, e.g., in Adlington's *Golden Ass* (ed. Seecombe 1913, p. 68: "whole hearde of beastes"); Thomas Fenne, *Fennes Frutes* (1590, p. 83^v: "wilde beastes"); Marlowe, *Elegies of Ovid* (Etchells and Macdonald, 1925, *El.* vii, p. 11):

Why? *Aiax* maister of the seuen-fould shield,
Butcherd the flocks he found in spatious field.

The killing of sheep is also alluded to in Apollodorus, *Epitome*, v. 6-7 (Loeb ed., II, 219), and in J. Tortelli, *Orthographia* (Venice, 1495), who says, under "Aiax," "oues & quaedā pecora trucidauit."

Cerberus.—In *L. L. L.* (V, ii, 591) Hercules is said, contrary to the classical myth, to have killed Cerberus. In *The Fall of Princes* (ed. Bergen, I, 149, ll. 5304 ff.) Lydgate says that Hercules "Slouh Cerberus with his hedis thre."

Elysium.—Mr. Root (p. 66) notes that several Shakespearean allusions give chief prominence to flowers in Elysium, while Homer mentions only asphodel, and Vergil implies the presence of lilies. The popular *Natalis Comes* (*Mythologiae*, Frankfort, 1584, p. 275), has, under 'Elysium': " . . . ventos ibi plurimum suaues & odoriferos leniter spirare, tanquam per incredibilem florum varietatem & amoenitatem transeuntes. Nam qualis odor est multis rosis, violis, hyacinthis, liliis, narcissis, myrtetis, lauris, cyparissis. . . "

Hecate.—Mr. Root (pp. 56, 92) suggests that "triple Hecate's team" is a team of dragons, and that Hecate is identified with Night, who is also, contrary to classical authority, drawn by dragons. The writings of some contemporary mythographers may help to explain the confusion of a number of deities. Richard Linche, *Fountain of Ancient Fiction*, 1599 (an abridged translation of V. Cartari, *Le Imagini, con la Spositione*, etc.) discusses Diana as Proserpina, Hecate, Lucina, and Isis, refers to Hecate as "Triuia, Trigemina, Triforme" (p. Hiiij), says that Cybele is known as "La gran Madre, la Madre de i dei, Ope, Rhea, Cibeale, Vesta, Cerere, Proserpina" (p. Mii), and of Ceres says: "And Orpheus writeth, that her charriot is drawne by two furious Dragons of most fierce and indomitable nature" (p. Nij). Cf. *Metam.* v. 642.

Fraunce, in the book already quoted (the prose parts of which seems to be based mainly on Cartari) refers to Diana as "Triuia, Triformis, and Tergemina" (p. 42^v), and discusses Diana as Luna, Diana, Hecate, or Proserpina. Both Linche and Fraunce name

various animals for Diana's team, but, as citations show, Diana may be identified with Ceres or Proserpina, and consequently be drawn by dragons. Adlington's *Golden Ass* (ed. Seecombe, pp. 124, 258) refers to the dragons of Ceres, and addresses the queen of heaven as Ceres or Venus or Proserpina. In the same book (p. 260) the goddess appears and says: ". . . the Phrigiens call me the mother of the Goddes: The Atheniens, Minerve: the Cipriens, Venus: the Candians, Diana: the Sicilians, Proserpina: the Eleusians, Ceres: some Juno, other Bellona, other Hecate. . ." Thus Hecate may be presented with the dragons of Ceres.

Mercury.—In *Tr. and C.* (II, iii, 13) is a reference to the "serpentine craft of thy caduceus." Fraunce (*op. cit.*, p. 38) says Mercury "held in his hande, a staffe called Caduceus," and speaks of serpents. Richard Linche, *Fountaine of Ancient Fiction* (1599), also mentions the "caduceus" (p. Qii).

Narcissus.—The un-Ovidian drowning of Narcissus in *V. and A.* (l. 161) and *R. of Luc.* (l. 266) is commonly referred to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (i, 74), or, by Mr. Root, to the Latin *Narcissus* of John Clapham (1591). The drowning had already appeared in English in Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte* (*E. E. T. S.*, ll. 3847 ff., 4258 ff.), and in Warner, *Albion's England* (Bk. 9, c. 46). Marlowe might have taken the detail from Warner; Marlowe's dialogue between Hero and Leander has some very close resemblances to the dialogue between Edgar and a nun in the twenty-fourth chapter of Warner's fifth book, which appeared in 1589.

Orpheus.—In *M. of V.* (V, i, 80) Lorenzo says:

Therefore the poet
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods . . .

Mr. Root (p. 93) notes that neither Ovid nor Vergil mentioned floods, and he quotes Horace, *Od.* i. 12.7-10. One may compare Stephen Scrope, *Epistle of Othea to Hector*, translated from Christine de Pisan (ed. G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1904) c. 67, p. 74: "Orpheus was a poyete, and the fabill seyth that he cowde welle pleye on the harrpe, so that the ryngyng wateres all only tournyd theyre coruse, and the birdes of the eyre, the wylde bestes and the fres serpentis foryate there cruelnes and restyd to here the songge and the swete sounde of his harpe." Cf. Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, ii. (Pref.), 17 ff.; Boethius, *Metre* xii, Bk. iii.

Also, Seneca's *Hercules furens*, in H. de Vocht, *Jasper Heywood*

and his *Translations of Seneca's Troas*, etc. (Louvain, 1913, p. 243):

The art yt drew woods, byrds, & stones at wil
which made delay to flouds of fitting flight
At soûd wherof the sauage beasts stood styll . . .

Perseus.—Mr. Root remarks (p. 96) that in *Tr. and C.* (I, iii, 42) Shakespeare, like Spenser in *Ruins of Time* (l. 649), thinks of Perseus as mounted on Pegasus in the rescue of Andromeda, and that the association of Perseus and Pegasus is implied in *Hen. V* (III, vii, 15, 22), and in *Hen. IV*, Part One (IV, i, 109). Such association was traditional. E.g., Stephen Scrope's translation of Christine de Pisan's *Epistre d'Othea a Hector* (ed. G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1904, c. 5, p. 15: "And poyetis seide that he roode the hors that flawe in the eyre, the which was called Pegasus," etc. Horse and hero are also united in Hawes, *Pastime of Pleasure* (*Percy Soc.*, vol. 18, p. 8). Cf. Rabelais, ii. 24.

Prometheus.—In *Titus And.* (II, i, 17) Prometheus is said to have been "tied to Caucasus," and Mr. Root (pp. 16-17) notes that the allusions in the authentic plays are to Prometheus as the fashioner of the human race. The general story of Prometheus's bondage was, as Mr. Root says, too familiar to necessitate invoking Aeschylus, but a few allusions to Caucasus may be recorded.

N. Comes (p. 316): "... dicitur a Mercurio Iouis iussu ad Caucasum montem adductus. . ."

Jasper Heywood, *Seneca's Hercules furens* (H. de Vocht, *J. Heywood and his Translations*, etc., p. 283):

Wherefore doe of
Prometheus lacke heare
The rockes? with huge and hawtye toppe
let now prepared bee,
Both feedyng beastes and fowles, the syde
of Cawcas torne to see . . .

R. Barnfield, *Affectionate Shepheard* (1594), ed. Arber, p. 12:

Ile goe to *Caucasus* to ease my smart,
And let a Vulture gnaw upon my hart.

Thersites.—Root (p. 111) says: "The foul-mouthed railer and coward of Troil. is pretty certainly to be attributed to Homer, *Il.* 2.211-271, though a hint as to his character might have been learned from *Met.* 13.233-34." Thersites is described in more or less detail in Leonard Coxe, *Art or Crafte of Rhethorique* (ed. Carpen-

ter), p. 53; T. Bradshaw, *Shepherds Starre* (1591); Heywood, *Troia Britannica* (1609), canto 8.

Timon.—Although there are many allusions in Elizabethan literature to Timon as a misanthrope, the following items, referring, with some curious details, to his avarice, may be of interest.

John Grange, *Golden Aphroditis*, 1577:

In desertes shrinke (as *Tymon* did) go seeke some caue or denne,
There to inioy your giftes alone, imparted not to men.

Brian Melbancke, *Philotimus*, 1583, p. 70:

. . . in this propertie, like *Tymon* of Athens, which being reuiled abroad for his insatiable nature, would at his returne home open his chests where his old golde lay, and comforting himselfe with the sighte of yt set it at his hart, & cast their words at his heels.

R. Braithwaite, *Strappado for the Diuell*, 1615 (ed. Ebsworth, 1878, p. 344; one of the author's notes on his poem, *Loues Labyrinth*, a version of Pyramus and Thisbe):

Timon pater Thisbis qui ingētem Thesauri molem in Arca recondidisse arbitratur, eiusque aspectu mirum in modum delectabatur. vid. fab. in Ouid. Metam.

I have not found any authority for making Timon Thisbe's father; Braithwaite's reference to Ovid may be merely to Ovid's story of the lovers.

Fraunce's *Third Part of the Countess of Pembrok's Ivychurch* contains (pp. 43-45) the story of Venus and Adonis. It is based on Ovid, but differs in some details, and is more luscious. Since the book is rare I may quote some lines which in tone are not unlike Shakespeare's poem:

Sometimes downe by a well with *Adonis* sweetly she sitteth,
And on *Adonis* face in well-spring louely she looketh,
And then *Adonis* lipps with her owne lipps kindly she kisseth,
Rolling tongue, moyst mouth with her owne mouth all to be sucking,
Mouth and tong and lipps, with *Ioues* drinke *Nectar* abounding.

Sometimes, louely records for *Adonis* sake, she reciteth;
How Læander dyde, as he swamme to the bewtiful *Hero*,
How great *Alcides* was brought from a club to a distaffe . . .

Sometimes unto the shade of a braunched beech she repaireth,
Where sweete bubbling brooke with streames of siluer aboundeth,
And faire-feathred birde on tree-top cherefully chirpeth;
There her voyce, which makes eu'en *Ioue* himselfe to be ioying,
Unto the waters fall, and birds chirpe ioyfully tuning.

In particular one may compare the fourth and fifth lines of the quotation with *V. and A.*, ll. 541 ff., and line 572, "Such nectar from his lips she had not suck'd"—which, to be sure, are not be-

yond Shakespeare's unaided imagination. One may note, with the same reservation, Shakespeare's "Ten kisses short as one, one long as twenty" (l. 22) and Fraunce's

Thinking euery houre to be two, and two to be twenty
Til she beheld her boy . . .

In has been thought that Shakespeare's "Leading him prisoner in a red-rose chain" (l. 110) might have come from Ronsard's

Les Muses hierent un iour
De chaines de roses, Amour.¹

Concerning Ronsard's treatment of the story of Adonis, Lee says that the 'Echo' passage resembles Shakespeare's, and that, while evidence of literal borrowing may not go far, there is a similarity in tone and temper.² Such a qualified opinion, from Sir Sidney Lee, may make an amateur detective cautious, but there do seem to be some unnoted coincidences of fancy, if they are nothing more.

Un petit poil follet luy couuroit le menton,
Gresle, prime, frisé, plus blond que le cotton (Ronsard, p. 27)

The tender spring upon thy tempting lip
Shows thee unripe, yet mayst thou well be tasted. (ll. 127-8)

Par ta mort Adonis, toutes delices meurent! . . .
Làs! auecques ta mort est morte ma beauté . . . (pp. 33 ff.)

For he being dead, with him is beauty slain . . . (l. 1019)
But true-sweet beauty liv'd and died with him. (l. 1080)

Furieuse d'esprit, criant à haute vois,
Ie veux escheuëllée errer parmy les bois,
Pieds nuds, estomac nud: ie veux que ma poitrine
Se laisse esgrafiner à toute dure espine,
Ie veux que les chardons me deschirent la peau. (p. 34)

And as she runs, the bushes in the way
Some catch her by the neck, some kiss her face,
Some twine about her thigh to make her stay:
She wildly breaketh from their strict embrace. (ll. 871 ff.)

. . . ton haleine viendra
Dans ma bouche, & de là lans le coeur descendra,
Puis iusq'au fond de l'ame, à fin que d'âge en âge
Ie conserue en mon sein cest amoureux bruage. (p. 36)

And nothing but the very smell were left me,
Yet would my love to thee be still as much;
For from the still'tory of thy face excelling
Comes breath perfum'd that breedeth love by smelling. (ll. 441 ff.)

¹ *Oeuvres*, ed. Laumonier, II, 360. Lee remarks (*French Renaissance in England*, p. 221) that this poem of Ronsard was universally popular in England, and had been cited in 1582 by Watson as the source of one of his 'passions.'

² Lee, p. 221; Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, IV, 26 ff.

Two songs of Greene's, from *Perimedes the Blackesmithe* (1588) and *Never Too Late* (1590), have often been cited as possibly responsible for the coldness of Adonis, or as proof of the existence of such a conception before Shakespeare. A couple of faint hints may be worth noting. Servius (on *Ecl.* x. 18) tells how Jupiter by deceit won a damsel and Juno "ut fraudem fraude superaret, petit a Venere, ut in amorem puellae Adonem inflammaret. quem posteaquam nulla fraude sollicitare in eius amorem potuit, obiectis quibusdam nebulis, ipsum Adonem in penetrabile virginis perduxit. . . ." Also Adlington (ed. Seccombe, p. 48) uses an epithet which recalls Marlowe's "proud Adonis": "as the proude yonge man Adonis who was torne by a Bore. . ."

I may add a couple of suggestions concerning possible sources for two passages in *Lucrece* which I have not seen noted. One is Lucrece's apostrophe to Night (ll. 747 ff.). In style and substance this is rather close to the apostrophe which Spenser puts in the mouth of Arthur (*F. Q.* III. iv. 55 ff.). Only samples can be quoted.

Lucrece (ll. 764 ff.):

O comfort-killing Night, image of hell!
Dim register and notary of shame!
Black stage for tragedies and murders fell!
Vast sin-concealing chaos! nurse of blame!
Blind muffled bawd! dark harbour for defame!
Grim cave of death! whispering conspirator
With close-tongu'd treason and the ravisher!

F. Q., III. iv. 55, 58:

Night thou foule Mother of annoyance sad,
Sister of heauie death, and nourse of woe . . .

Under thy mantle blacke there hidden lye,
Light-shonning theft, and traiterous intent,
Abhorred bloudshed, and vile felony,
Shamefull deceit, and daunger imminent . . .

Some particular (if rather commonplace) resemblances are:

'For day,' quoth she, 'night's scapes doth open lay.'

(*Luc.*, l. 747)

For day discouers all dishonest wayes (*F. Q.*, st. 59).

Nurse of blame (*Luc.*, l. 767).

Nurse of bitter cares (*F. Q.*, st. 57): nurse of woe (st. 55).

Which underneath thy black all-hiding cloak (*Luc.*, l. 801).

Under thy mantle blacke (*F. Q.*, st. 58).

Of Lucrece's apostrophe to Opportunity Sir Sidney Lee says (*Facsimile ed. of Poems*, 1905, p. 17) that it "seems an original device of Shakespeare." It may be, but Shakespeare might have got suggestions from the following piece, or some similar one.

R. Taverner, *Proverbes or Adagies, gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus* . . . 1552, fol. xxiv:

Nosce tempus.

Knowe tyme. Opportunitie is of such force that of honest it maketh on-honest, of dammage auauntage, of pleasure greuaunce, of a good turne a shrewd turne, and contrarye wyse of onhonest honest, of auauntage dammage, and brefflye to conclude it cleane chaungeth ye nature of thynges. This opportunitie or occasion (for so also ye maye call it in auenturyng and fynyshynge a busynes: doubtless beareth ye chiefe stroke, so that not withoute good skyll the paynymys of olde tyme counted it a diuine thyng. And in this wyse they painted her. They made her a goddesse standynge with fethered feete uppon a whele and turnynge her selfe aboute the circle thereof most swiftly, beyng on the former parte of her hed more hearye and on the hinder parte balde, so that by the fore parte she may safely be caughte, but by the hynder parte not so.

This last part of course recalls the description of Occasion in the *Faerie Queene*, II. iv. 4, for which Upton (ed. 1758, II, 448) cites Phaedrus:

Cursu ille volucris pendens in novacula
Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo corpore . . .

Mr. Root (p. 62) quotes Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, p. 181, for a description of Occasion standing with her left foot on the hub of a wheel which she whirls with her right.

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

THE RENEWAL OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR IN SHAKESPEARE

In Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part II,¹ the dying king, after reviewing the "by-paths and indirect crook'd ways" by which he had attained the crown and the difficulties he had experienced in holding his royal ground, advises the Prince of Wales as follows:

Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels, that action, hence borne out,
May waste the memory of the former days.²

"Foreign quarrels" would mean in those days war with Scotland, France or Wales, though the latter was technically a part of Henry's domain and probably should be excluded from the count. As between Scotland and France, the choice had apparently been made before the play ends, for the last words of Act V are these words of Prince John:

I will lay odds that, ere this year expire
We bear our civil swords and native fire
As far as France. I heard a bird so sing,
Whose music, to my thinking, pleased the King.³

In the opening scene of *Henry V*, the bishops, commenting on the menace to the Church involved in the parliamentary proposal to nationalize church property,⁴ state that they have urged the King to go on with the French war project and have promised him substantial aid from ecclesiastical sources.⁵

It appears then that in Shakespeare the motive for the renewal of the war with France was to keep the minds of Englishmen off domestic troubles, particularly off the slender Lancastrian claim of the crown and the scheme to confiscate the lands of the Church.⁶

¹ Act IV, scene v, ll. 184-216. Tudor Ed.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 214-216.

³ *Ibid.*, V, v, 111-114.

⁴ Cf. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* II, 65 (Rolls Series), tr. in F. H. Durham, *English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1399-1485*, p. 36.

⁵ Cf. the references from Fabian and Holinshed in W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 168.

⁶ Alien priories were disestablished by the statute of 1414; cf. Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, p. 180.

I have been interested in trying to discover where Shakespeare got the idea that such was Henry's motive. It does not appear in any contemporary English chronicle.⁷ So after I had made an exhaustive search myself, I wrote to Mr. C. L. Kingsford, whose work on fifteenth century source materials for English history is so well-known, and asked him whether he had discovered any source for Shakespeare's statements. I quote his reply, dated November 21, 1920:

The idea that Henry V entered on the French War in order to keep the attention of the people off domestic concerns, appears of course in Shakespeare
Be it your task to busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels.

Shakespeare I suppose took it from something in Holinshed or Hall, but I cannot lay my hind on the particular expression which may have suggested it.

The idea is to my thinking counter to the spirit of Mediaevalism. I suppose that no statesman would ever have given such a reason for war, Henry V would not I imagine have thought of it. A sixteenth century ruler might have consciously acted on some such motive, and a modern writer might read such ideas into the Fifteenth Century. I should be surprised to find such an idea expressed at the time. The nearest analogy is in the statement in the 1461 version of the *Brut* that the bishops encouraged the war in order that the King should not seek occasion to enter into other matters. This idea was of course developed by Hall. See my *English Historical Literature*, p. 120.

Henry himself I feel little doubt shared in the common idea to which Philip of Mezieres, St. Bridget and Hoccleve had all given expression that France and England ought to be one at heart: purchase peace by way of marriage, and let him that might heir it cease all strife; then might all together wage war upon miscreants and bring them into the faith of Christ. Such an idea goes to the heart of mediaevalism, which no Machiavellian notion of expediency or politique could do.

In the course of the first chapter⁸ of his book *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England*,⁹ Mr. Kingsford, commenting on the first act of *Henry V* remarks:

For the statement that the Lollards' Bill of 1410 for the confiscation of Church property revived at the Parliament of Leicester in 1414, Hall had Fabyan's authority; but the statement is not supported by the evidence of the *Rolls of Parliament* and the terms of the original bill are known only through one of the London chronicles. It was but a visionary project, though in Hall and in the play it becomes the reason which moved Chichele to stir up the King to war with France. This suggestion first appears in Caxton's *Chronicles*¹⁰ reproducing a late version of the *Brut*, when it is stated that men of the spirituality, doubting that the King would have had the temporalities out of their hands encouraged Henry to challenge his right in France and so set him a work which would prevent him from entering on such matters.

It is clear then that so far as the chroniclers are concerned

⁷ Professor K. H. Vickers in his *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, p. 286, credits the idea to Basin. I have not been able to check Mr. Vickers' references to Basin.

⁸ Entitled "Fifteenth Century History in Shakespeare's Plays"; p. 11.

⁹ Ford Lectures, 1923-24; Oxford University Press, 1925.

¹⁰ Cf. the passage quoted in Craik, *English Prose*, I, 102 [A. R. B.].

Shakespeare's diagnosis of Henry's motive is very late. I wish to show in this paper, that notwithstanding Mr. Kingsford's suggestion that no medieval statesman would avow such a machiavellian motive, it is found in the most popular medieval annual of political science.

This was the *Liber de Regimine Principum* by Egidio Colonna alias Aegidius Romanus. This work, written in the latter part of the thirteenth century, was originally intended for the instruction of the prince later known as Philip the Fair of France, and "aims to give to rulers all the information necessary to govern themselves, their household and their state successfully, i.e., so as to attain the greatest happiness in each of these three relations."¹¹ It was translated into French and widely influential, being the standard authority in politics, comparable to the *Summa of Aquinas*.¹² Humphrey Duke of Gloucester had in his private library two copies, one in Latin and one in French, and according to Professor K. H. Vickers¹³ this was one of the books which Humphrey delighted to study, finding there both much of his knowledge of military tactics and many of his general maxims of government.¹⁴

Aegidius is thus shown to be thoroughly medieval and very well-known in fifteenth century England. Now it is interesting that as quoted by Professor Vickers,¹⁵ Aegidius lays down as a general principle¹⁶ a maxim which will explain Henry's conduct in reopen-

¹¹ Cf. S. P. Molenaer, *Li Livres de Gouvernement des Rois*, a 13th Century French version of Aegidius Romanus, p. xxi.

¹² In England it was one of the sources for Thomas Hoccleve's work of the same title (Englished, *Regement of Princes*). Mr. Charles Plummer in his edition of Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, pp. viii, 175, 179, and 202, states that Aegidius was one of the chief of the few authorities used by Fortescue and that in Digby MS 233 there is an English translation of Aegidius still unprinted. Fortescue was a strong Lancastrian and the first to discuss in English the nature of representative monarchy. Dr. Nellie S. Aurner in her recent *Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth Century Letters*, p. 91, points out that the *De Regimine Principum* was a chief source for the social and political views presented in Jaques de Cessolis *Liber de Ludo Scaccorum*, translated and adapted by Caxton in *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* (1475).

¹³ Cf. K. H. Vickers, *Op. cit.*, Index.

¹⁴ A complete account of the doctrine and influence of Aegidius will be found in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxx, pp. 421-566 under the caption *Gilles de Rome*, etc.

¹⁵ *Op. Cit.*, p. 286. On an earlier page (24), Professor Vickers states that Aegidius lived from 1296 to 1316. This is clearly wrong. Dr. Molenaer, discussing his life (*Op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xix), holds that he may have been born as early as 1247.

¹⁶ Cf. *De Regimine Principum*, III, ii, 15. I have not had access to the Latin and have not been able to discover the corresponding passage in the French.

ing the war. The words of Aegidius follow: "Guerra enim exterior tollit seditiones, et reddit cives magis unanimes et concordēs. Exemplum hujus habemus in Romanis quibus postquam defecerunt exteriora bella intra se ipsos bellare coeperunt."

Now, could Shakespeare have had any independent contact with Romanus? Dr. Molinaer, already cited, has edited the French translation of Aegidius in a Columbia University dissertation and he remarks that between "the years 1473 and 1617 eleven editions of Aegidius' treatise were printed in the original Latin,—five in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, four in the sixteenth, and two in the first two decades of the seventeenth. These numbers bear witness to the author's popularity during a long period of time and form a record of vitality remarkable in the history of a didactic work."¹⁷ Three MSS of the French translation are in the British Museum and M. Lajard in his article in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, already mentioned, names other French translations besides versions in Hebrew, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, and Italian.¹⁸ Is it possible that we may have to add another item to our list of Shakespeare's reading?

A. R. BENHAM

University of Washington

UNNOTED PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL ALLUSIONS IN
*TWELFTH NIGHT*¹

1. *Clo.* This will I tell my lady straight. *I would not be
in some of your coats for two pence.*

(IV, i, 31-32)

The proverbial expression used by Feste in this passage, 'To be in (another person's) *coat*,' has been replaced by the modern expression, 'To be in (another person's) *shoes*.' Both expressions are found chiefly in the negative form. The obsolete form of the proverb is established by its use by P. F. Tytler, J. Lyly, and B.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxvii. An English translation should be added to the list. Cf. *supra*, note 12.

¹ For other proverbs and proverbial allusions in *Twelfth Night*, see *The Proverbs of Shakespeare with Early and Contemporary Parallels*, by Richard Jente, Washington University Studies, Vol. XIII, Humanistic Series, no. 2, pp. 391-444, 1926. See also my volume, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's "Euphues" and in Pettie's "Petite Pallace," with Parallels from Shakespeare*, 1926, Special Index, Shakespeare, p. 412, for reference to parallels from *Twelfth Night*.

Jonson.² I have not met with it in the English proverbial collections.

2. *Mar.* Ay, but you must confine yourself within the modest limits of order.

Toby. Confine! I'll confine myself no finer than I am. These clothes are good enough to drink it, and so be these boots too: an they be not, *let them hang themselves in their own straps.*

(I, iii, 8-13)

Toby suggests in his expansive good humour that if his boots be not good enough to drink in they should hang themselves in gentlemanlike manner in their own *straps*. The suggestion for the unusual manner by which Toby's disgraced boots are to dispose of themselves is to be traced to the proverbial invitation to "Go hang yourself in your own *garters*."³ The substitution of "straps" for the proverbial "garters" is Toby's alteration to correspond to the need and nature of despondent boots.

Shakespeare refers humourously to the same proverb in two other instances: The Second Part of *Henry the Fourth*, II, ii, 46:⁴ "Hang thyself in thine own heir-apparent garters," and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 355: "if he that writ it had played Pyramus, and hanged himself in Thisbe's garter, it would have been a fine tragedy."⁵

3. *Mal.* He is very well-favoured, and he speaks very shrewishly, *one would think his mother's milk scarce out of him.*

(I, v, 164-167)

² *N. E. D.*, s.v. *Coat*, 13: "1549 in P. F. Tytler *Eng. under Edw. VI.* (1839) 1.171, I would not be in some of their coats for five marks."—Lyly's *King Midas* (Bond), III, 122, 89 (I, ii): "I would not be in your coats for anything."—Jonson's *A Tale of a Tub* (Scherer), 102, 2077: "I would not be i' my masters coat for thousands."

³ J. Ray, *English Proverbs*, 1678 ed., p. 246: "He may go hang himself in's own garter."—Swift, *Polite Conversations*, Scott ed. of *Swift's Works*, Vol. IX, p. 420: "Well, go hang yourself in your own garters."

⁴ Jente has noted this example of the proverb in his *Proverbs of Shakespeare*, no. 156.

⁵ Examples of this proverb in the dramatic literature of Shakespeare's time, and later, are numerous: Jonson, *Volpone*, Everyman's ed., p. 471 (V, i): "Ten suits of hangings—Ay, in their garters, Mosca. Now their hopes Are at the gasp"; Chapman, *The Ball*, III, iv, 75: "Live to be your own vexations, then, till you be mad, And then remove yourself with your own garters."—B. and F., *Wild Goose Chase*, IV, iii, 47: "Off with your garters, and seek a bough,—A handsome bough, for I would have ye hang like a gentleman."—Shirley, *Lady of Pleasure*, II, ii, 42: "So I leave you to shame and your own garters."—*Idem*, *Bird in a Cage*, Dyce ed., p. 414 (III, ii): "I leave your signiorships to the mercy of your garters."—*Idem*, *Hyde Park*, Dyce ed., p. 503 (III, ii): "lend me the silken tie About your leg, which some do call a garter, To hang myself."

In these words Malvolio describes to Olivia the "messenger at the gate," Cesario-Viola, who upon admission addresses the "good beauties" in a plea that they let her "sustain no scorn," for she is "*very comptible even to the least sinister usage.*" In his description of Cesario, Malvolio employs aptly the proverb, "His mother's milk is not out of his nose,"⁶ which, as Kelly tells us in his *Scottish Proverbs*, is used of "novices who are not yet accustomed to be with, or serve strangers, and *take harsh usage ill.*"⁷

This proverb is found in a *Manuscript Collection*⁸ of Scottish proverbs dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as in the collections of Scottish proverbs by Kelly,⁹ Ramsay,¹⁰ Henderson,¹¹ and Bohn.¹² It is found also in Fuller's *Gnomologia*,¹³ 1732. An interesting example of the literary use of this proverb is found in *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*,¹⁴ first printed in 1607: "A man had better line a good, handsome pair of gallows before his time than be born to do these *sucklings* good, *their mother's milk not out of their nose yet.*"

4. *Seb.* Go to, go; thou art a foolish fellow: let me be clear of thee.

Clo. Well held out, i'faith! No, I do not know you; nor I am not sent to you by my lady to bid you come speak with her; *nor your name is not master Cesario, nor this is not my nose neither.* Nothing that is so is so.

(IV, i, 3-9)

The meaning of the underscored words in this passage is: It is

⁶ This form of the proverb is found in a *Manuscript Collection* of Scottish proverbs printed in Fergusson's *Scottish Proverbs*, edited for the Scottish Text Society, by Erskine Beveridge, 1924, p. 49, no. 593.

⁷ *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs*, by James Kelly, 1721, p. 387: "Your Minnie's Milk is no out of your Nose yet." Kelly's comment on this proverb is found on page 388.

⁸ See note 4.

⁹ See note 5.

¹⁰ *A Collection of Scots Proverbs*, 1737, by Allan Ramsay, p. 84: "Your minnie's milk is no out of your nose yet."

¹¹ *Scottish Proverbs*, by Andrew Henderson, 1832, p. 153: "Your minnie's milk's no wrung out o' your nose yet."

¹² Bohn's reprint of the *Scottish Proverbs* included in the fifth edition of Ray, "revised, corrected, and augmented by John Belfour," London, 1813, in his *Hand-book of Proverbs*, 1855, p. 265: "Your minnie's milk is na out o' your nose yet."

¹³ *Gnomologia*, by Thomas Fuller, M.D., 1814 ed., p. 221: "Your mama's milk is scarce out of your nose yet." The same form is found in Hazlitt's *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, 1906 ed., p. 562.

¹⁴ Hazlitt's *Dodsley* ed., IX, 527.

as plain that your name is Master Cesario as that this [pointing to his nose] is the nose on my face. The proverbial simile "As plain as the nose on a man's face" is used a second time by Shakespeare in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, i, 131:

Speed. O jest unseen, inscrutable, invisible,
As the nose on a man's face, or a weathercock on a steeple!

The proverbial collections of Clarke,¹⁵ Howell¹⁶ and Ray¹⁷ include this proverbial simile. The general currency of the proverb is attested by its appearance in such works as Guazzo's *Civile Conversations*,¹⁸ Cervantes' *Don Quixote*,¹⁹ Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*,²⁰ Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*²¹ and Butler's *Hudibras*.²²

5. *Mar.* Will you hoist sail, sir? *Here lies your way.*²³

Vio. No, good swabber; I am to hull here a little longer.
Some mollification for your giant, sweet lady.
(I, v, 208-211)

In Maria's words, "Here lies your way," we have the latter part of a proverbial form of dismissal. The usual form of the complete proverb is, "Here is the door, and there is the way." In this form it is found in the proverbial collections of Heywood,²⁴ Draxe,²⁵ Clarke²⁶ and Davies.²⁷ According to Draxe and Clarke it is used to express "contempt."

¹⁵ *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina*, 1639, by John Clarke, p. 252 (s.v. Perspicuitas): "As plain as the nose on a man's face."

¹⁶ *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, by James Howell, *Tetraglotton*, 1659, *English Proverbs*, p. 6: "As plain to be seen as the nose on your face." *Ibid.*, p. 20: "As plain as the nose of a man's face."

¹⁷ *English Proverbs*, by John Ray (1670), p. 206: "As plain as the nose on a man's face."

¹⁸ Pettie's translation, 1586, p. 86: "no more seen than a nose in a man's face."

¹⁹ The Tudor edition, chapter IV: "Plain as the nose on a man's face."

²⁰ 1683 ed. . . . but, I can make it (as the proverb goes) as plain as the nose on you . . .

²¹ Pt. III, sect. . . . 4, subsect. 1: "As clear and as manifest as the nose in a man's face."

²² III, iii: "as plain to be seen as the nose on your face."

²³ Olivia, III, i, 139, uses the same words in dismissing Cesario: "Here lies your way, due west." In neither of these cases does there seem to be expressed in these words the degree of contempt that there is expressed in the full form of the proverb.

²⁴ John Heywood's *Proverbs*, Farmer ed., p. 36.

²⁵ Draxe's *Treasure of Ancient Adagies*, 1616, *Anglia*, Vol. 42, p. 372, no. 321 (s.v. Contempt).

²⁶ Clarke's *Paroemiologia*, 1639, p. 70 (s.v. Contemptus).

²⁷ J. Davies, *Scourge of Folly*, Grosart ed., Vol. II, p. 50, no. 414.

Katherine, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, employs the proverb in an angry speech to Petruchio, III, ii, 212:

*The door is open, sir; there lies your way;
You may be jogging while your boots are green.*

An example of this proverb in Jonson's *Staple of News*²⁸ closely resembles the wording of the proverb in *The Taming of the Shrew* and in *Twelfth Night*:

*Go as you came, here's no man holds you; there,
There lies your way, you see the door.*

6. *Clo.* (of Malvolio): *He holds Belzebub at the stave's end,*
as well as a man in his case may do.
(V, i, 286-287)

Collections of English proverbs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offer evidence of the proverbial character of the words underscored: Heywood,²⁹ Farmer ed., p. 42: "I live here at stave's end."—Draxe, *Anglia*, vol. 42, p. 411, no. 2037: "The world he holdeth at the stave's end."—J. Davies, Grosart ed., Vol. II, p. 45, no. 177: "The world still he keeps at his stave's end."—Clarke, *Paroemiologia*, p. 273 (s. v. Repellentis): "To keep him at stave's end."

7. *Oliv.* Prithee, read i' thy right wits.
Clo. So I do, madonna; but to read his right wits is to
read thus: therefore, *perpend*, my princess, *and give ear*.
(V, i, 300-303)

The italicized words in Feste's speech translate Erasmus' proverb, *Ausculata et perpende*.³⁰ Of the use of this proverb, Erasmus says: *Quoties significabimus nos aliquid dicturos, quod ad rem pertineat, quodque ratum ac certum futurum sit, . . .*

The same proverb is involved in the four other instances in which Shakespeare uses the word "perpend." For the serio-comic note struck by Shakespeare in his employment of this word, see my article, "Shakespeare and his Ridicule of 'Cambyses,'" *Modern Language Notes*, XXIV, 244-247. The proverbial character of the "perpend" passages in Preston's *Cambyses* and in Shakespeare accounts for the similar wording of the passages in both writers.

²⁸ *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, Everyman's edition, II, 395 (III, ii).

²⁹ In the English Arden edition of *Twelfth Night*, p. 168, note on lines 286, 287, Heywood's use of this proverbial expression has been noted.

³⁰ Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, 1703, *Adagia*, Vol. II, 914 D.

It would not, however, explain the burlesque of the proverb, as we have it from the mouths of Pistol,³¹ Polonius,³² Feste and Touchstone,³³ who use it in true "King Cambyeses' vein" in ridicule of the bombastic style of the old play.

M. P. TILLEY

University of Michigan

THOMAS KYD'S EARLY COMPANY CONNECTIONS

In *A Knight's Conjuring*, 1607, Dekker makes a statement which can now be shown to have considerable importance for Elizabethan dramatic history. Describing Phoebus' grove and its fortunate inhabitants, Dekker first mentions Chaucer and Spenser in one group. Then he takes up two groups of dramatists. For the first of these we are told: "In another companie sat learned Watson, industrious Kyd, ingenious Atchlow, and (tho hee had bene a player, molded out of there pennes) yet because he had bene their louer, and a register to the Muses, inimitable Bentley." In the second group of dramatists, we have Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Nashe, to whom the newly-arrived Chettle comes puffing up.¹

Here Dekker groups together Watson, Atchlow, and Kyd as dramatists. This is the most direct statement we have that Atchlow was a dramatist, though Doctor Chambers points out² that a passage in Nashe's *Menaphon* epistle in 1589 also implies this profession for him, while there is considerable other evidence of the same nature for Watson. Says Nashe:

There are extant about *London* many most able men to reuiue Poetry . . . as, for example, *Mathew Roydon*, *Thomas Atchelowe*, and *George Peele*; the first of whom, as he hath shewed himselfe singular in the immortall Epitaph of his beloued *Astrophell*, besides many other most absolute Comike inuentions (made more publike by euery mans praise, than they can be by my speech), so the second hath more than once or twice manifested his deepe witted schollership in places of credite: and for the last, though not the least of them all, I dare commend him to all that know him, as the chiefe supporter of pleasance now liuing, the *Atlas* of Poetrie, and *primus verborum Artifex*: whose first increase, the arraignment of *Paris*, might pleade to your opinions his pregnant dexterity of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention; where in (*me iudice*) he goeth a steppe beyond all that write.³

Here then we have Atchlow grouped with Roydon and Peele as

³¹ *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II, i, 119; and *King Henry the Fifth*, IV, iv, 8.

³² *Hamlet*, II, ii, 105.

³³ *As You Like It*, III, ii, 69.

¹ *A Knight's Conjuring*. Percy Society, V, 74-7.

² Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 211, 506.

³ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 235-6.

dramatists, while Dekker had grouped him with Watson and Kyd. Now if we turn to Watson's *Hekatompathia* (S. R. March 31, 1582), we find commendatory verses by T. Acheley, Matthew Roydon, and George Peele, as also by John Lyly, G. Bucke, and C. Downhall. Both Nashe in 1589, and Dekker in 1607, are referring to a circle of dramatist-friends, to which only Kyd seems not to have belonged by March 1582. But even Kyd at least knew this work of Watson's well enough to adapt from it in *The Spanish Tragedy*.⁴

Dekker seems to give us a clue to the dramatic center of his circle in the statement that Bentley was molded out of the pens of Watson, Kyd, and Atchlow. Now Bentley was a member of the original Queen Elizabeth's Company March 10, 1583, and remained with that organization till his burial August 19, 1585.⁵ Here then we have the plain implication by Dekker that Kyd had done notable dramatic writing by August 1585, confirming evidence I have already given elsewhere⁶ to the same effect. Not only so, but Dekker separates Watson, Kyd, Atchlow, and Bentley in this earlier group of dramatists from the second group, in which he places Marlowe, further confirming previous evidence which indicates that Kyd was clearly Marlowe's predecessor in the drama.

Presumably Dekker implies that Watson, Kyd, and Atchlow wrote for the Queen's men before August 1585, though this is not quite so certain, since we do not know to what company Bentley belonged before March 1583, for which it is possible, though not at all probable, that these men may have written. But if we could trust the seeming fact that Kyd was not of the Watson circle by March 1582, then we should have pretty fair, though not even then quite conclusive evidence that here are three Queen's dramatists before August 1585.

The same conclusion may be indicated too by the connections of at least one of the group with Sir Francis Walsingham. Watson had met and attracted the attention of Sir Francis Walsingham in Paris in 1581, whose favor he retained till the latter's death in 1591. According to Spenser, Walsingham was "The great Mecaenas of this age." For our present purpose, a very significant fact was the formation of the Queen's company about March 10, 1583, "at the request of Sir Francis Walsingham."⁷ In December of the same

⁴ Boas, *Kyd*, pp. xxiv, xxix.

⁵ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 106; *Modern Language Notes*, XLI, 34.

⁶ *Modern Language Notes*, XL, 343-349.

⁷ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 104.

year, he was instructing the Lord Mayor to stop forbidding the company to play in London.⁸ And it was to Master Secretary Walsingham that Dick Tarleton, the chief comedian of the company, turned when in September 1588, upon his deathbed, doubts assailed him as to the future of his young child.⁹ In view of such facts, one will hesitate to accept the full implications of a statement by Walsingham's latest interpreter: "He was in any event clearly no patron of the drama."¹⁰ Our present information then supports the plausibility of Dekker's statement, from which we infer that Watson, Atchlow, and Kyd wrote dramas, probably for the Queen's men, before August 1585.

If Kyd did his famous *Spanish Tragedy* in this period not later than the summer of 1585, as seems almost certain, then we need to push the beginnings of notable Elizabethan popular drama at least back into the first half of the eighties, closely paralleling the development of the courtly drama. When eventually we get the chronology of this period worked out in sufficient detail, we shall probably find that the final flowering of the drama was a much slower process than seems usually supposed.

T. W. BALDWIN

University of Illinois.

CHAUCERIANA

The following are a few parallels between Chaucer and Roman literature which have not, I believe, been pointed out by the Chaucer scholars.

Terence, *Phormio*, 454:

Quod homines tot sententiae.

Canterbury Tales, F 203:

As many heddes as manye wittes there been.

Catullus, V, 5-6:

Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

Canterbury Tales, E 1762-3:

Now wolde God that it were woxen night,
And that the night wolde lasten evermo.

Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 304-5:

ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.

⁸ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 296-7.

⁹ Read, Conyers. *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, III, 435; S. P. D., ccxv, no. 90.

¹⁰ Read, *Walsingham*, III, 437.

Troilus, 1.631-2:

A wheston is no kervyng instrument,
But yit it maketh sharpe kervyng toles.

HENRY BARRETT HINCKLEY

Cheshire, Conn.

A NOTE ON THE WORD *CERINDONGO*

In Professor G. T. Northup's recent school edition of *Ten Old Spanish Farces* (New York, 1922) the word *cerindongo* occurs¹ in the anonymous farce of *El hambriento*, which presumably was written during the latter part of the Golden Age. The word is used as follows:

Tiene también comida regalada:
El *ave cerindongo* en empanada;

Professor Northup states in a note that he is unable to explain the word and that it is not to be found in any of the dictionaries. This latter fact has evoked my surmise as to the possibility of a misprint in the extant editions of the farce, which—if my surmise is correct—have perpetuated an error in the first edition. This is my thought: three down-strokes of the pen are required to form the letters *vi* as well as *in*. Is it not possible that the *in* might have been inadvertently printed for *vi* in the first edition through a careless reading of the author's manuscript, for the printers of that time were far from careful in many cases; and that in consequence later editors perpetuated the error in the belief that the word *cerindongo* was a bonafide obsolete expression current in the Golden Age? If we substitute *vi* for *in* the result is *cervidongo*, presumably a compound formed on *cervi(z) d(e) (h)ongo*, which would at once suggest the *ave* in question, a guinea hen or *pintada*.

EDWIN B. PLACE

University of Colorado

SUR QUELQUES CITATIONS DE CHATEAUBRIAND

Dans son utile article: "Chateaubriand's Reading during his 'Emigration'" (*Philological Quarterly*, July, 1926, pp. 258-272), M. Aaron Schaffer s'est donné la peine de relever, de classer et d'identifier les ouvrages mentionnés dans *l'Essai sur les Révolutions* et dont il est dès lors permis de soupçonner que le grand écrivain a pu y puiser des inspirations.

Je voudrais revenir brièvement ici sur *l'Appendix C*, où M.

¹ P. 102, verse 42.

Schaffer a réunis six ouvrages cités qu'il n'est pas parvenu à identifier d'une façon certaine. Il me paraît, en effet, que trois au moins peuvent l'être sans crainte d'erreur:

1) *Carl. Lettres sur l'Amérique* (II, 18).

Il s'agit, à n'en pas douter, de l'ouvrage du comte J.-R. Carli: *Lettres américaines, dans lesquelles on examine l'Origine, l'Etat Civil, Militaire et Religieux, les Arts, l'Industrie, les Sciences, les Mœurs, les Usages des anciens habitants de l'Amérique* . . . A Boston, Et se trouve à Paris, chez Buisson, M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

2) *Pet. In Legibus atticis* (II, 39).

Pétau n'a rien à faire ici. Cette note renvoie à un ouvrage du grand érudit nîmois du XVII^e siècle, Samuel Petit, dont Chateaubriand transcrit le titre de mémoire, . . . avec un affreux barbarisme: *Samueli Petiti, In leges atticis commentarius*, Paris, 1635, in-folio.—L'auteur de *L'Essai* a dû vraisemblablement le consulter dans l'édition de Leyde, 1742, in-folio, avec notes de Wesseling.

3) *Laf. Mœurs des Sauvages* (II, 18).

Ici encore nulle hésitation n'est possible, et il faut lire: J. Fr. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*. Paris, 1723, 2 vol., ou 1724, 4 vol. in-12.

GUSTAVE CHARLIER

Université de Bruxelles

BEDE AND GREGORY OF TOURS

Bede, in his comment on Acts xxviii. 8 (*Retractatio in Acta Apostolorum: Complete Works*, ed. Giles, 12.156), quotes from Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Fr.* 5.34, as follows:¹

[Temporibus Tiberii imperatoris] dysentericus morbus pæne totas Gallias præoccupavit. Erat enim [in] his qui patiebantur valida cum vomitu febris, reniumque² nimius dolor, capitis gravedo vel cervicis³: ea vero quæ ex ore projiciebantur colore croceo aut certe viridia erant. A multis autem asserebatur venenum occultum esse;⁴ sed herbæ quæ venenis medentur, potui sumptæ plurisque⁵ præsidia contulerunt.⁶

¹ Words not in Gregory's text (ed. Arndt and Krusch) are included in square brackets. No account is made of different spellings.

² Bede here adopts the form which he found in Pliny, a writer with whom he must have been pretty familiar, instead of the *renumque* of Gregory's text.

³ Gregory has: *caput grave vel cervix*. Bede may well have thought his own Latin an improvement on the original.

⁴ Here Bede omits a fairly long sentence.

⁵ Instead of *plerisque*: perhaps a scribal or typographical error.

⁶ The whole passage is thus translated by Brehaut, *History of the Franks*, p. 129: "Dysentery seized upon nearly the whole of the Gauls. The sufferers had a high fever, with vomiting and excessive pain in the kidneys; the

From the foregoing it is clear, not only that Bede was acquainted with the *Historia Francorum*, but that he treated the text with considerable freedom, introducing or omitting words according to his judgment, and even changing a construction of which he seemingly did not approve. There is no reason to doubt that Bede was also familiar with the closing paragraph of Gregory's book, which begins thus:

Decem libros Historiarum, septem Miraculorum, unum de Vita Patrum scripsi; in Psalterii tractatu librum unum commentatus sum; de Cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi. . . . Hos libros in anno vigesimo primo ordinationis nostræ perscripsimus.

Bede introduces a much longer list of his productions at the close of his *Ecclesiastical History*:

Hæc de historia ecclesiastica Britanniarum, et maxime gentis Anglorum, . . . digessi Bæda famulus Christi, et presbyter monasterii. . . . Ex quo tempore accepti presbyteratus usque ad annum ætatis meæ LVIII, hæc in scripturam sanctam meæ meorumque necessitati ex opusculis venerabilium patrum breviter adnotare, sive etiam ad formam sensus et interpretationis eorum superadicere curavi:

In principium Genesis, etc., etc.

It would appear natural to assume, then—though, so far as I know, the suggestion has never yet been made—that the idea of appending a complete list of his writings to his principal work was borrowed by Bede from his predecessor, Gregory of Tours.

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

Yale University

head and neck were heavy. Their expectorations were of a saffron color, or at least green. It was asserted by many that it was a secret poison. . . . Herbs that are used to cure poisons were drunk, and helped a good many.''

BOOK REVIEWS

Le rôle du surnaturel dans les chansons de geste, par Adolphe Jacques Dickman. Paris: Champion, 1926.

This work presented for the doctorate at the University of Iowa forms an attractive volume of more than two hundred pages. The title of the volume is somewhat misleading, for not only is the supernatural considered, but the simply marvelous as well. The main body of the thesis, forming Part Three of the study, bears the more appropriate title: *Le rôle du merveilleux et du surnaturel religieux, religieux* to be interpreted *chrétien* as appears in the subject of chapter three. As a counterpart to Christian supernaturalism, one might have expected a chapter on pagan supernaturalism, but all references to pagan superstitions, magic, sorcery, fairies, pagan gods, etc., are included under the *merveilleux*, along with all that is extraordinary and hence marvelous in the common acceptance of the term.

It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Dickman has attempted a vast and intricate subject. Part Two, covering fifty pages and devoted to short résumés of the fifty-six *chansons de geste* studied, attests the amount of work done by the author to form a basis for his judgments. These résumés might be read with interest by the student of French or comparative literature who is not familiar with the Old French language. But the part of the work which seems to us will prove of most value is the Index in which are recorded the data with exact references to their origin in the *chansons* studied. We may not accept the classification of the data as the most desirable in every respect, but in these more than thirty large pages in comparatively fine print, there is a mine of information for the student of the future.

Mr. Dickman recognizes (p. 70) that he is not the first to study the supernatural in its varied manifestations in the *chansons de geste*. But usually his predecessors have chosen to treat only one aspect of the marvelous or of the supernatural. By presenting the whole field, he hoped to show (p. 76) the development in the use of the marvelous as a literary device for attracting the public. He hoped also to decide whether the use of Christian supernaturalism has likewise varied during the life of the *chansons de geste*, whether it has an important influence upon the action and the characters, whether it makes these poems didactic, or whether it simply reflects the spirit of their day. The value of the answers obtained may not be commensurate with the effort expended, but it is much to Mr. Dickman's credit to have raised these interesting questions. Some parts of the argument seem to us in need of strengthening. We are not convinced, for example, that Adenet le Roi (p. 12; cf. p. 17 and p. 80) *s'élève contre l'abus du merveilleux de descriptions romantiques, contre l'addition de circonstances extraordinaires*, simply because he says he is going to tell the truth in recounting his tale, and not follow

the example of others who have told the same story. In the first passage, cited from *Bueves de Commarchis*, Adenet does not say that *il n'introduira point de songes ni de fées* but simply that he will not tell *dou songe Erminolai*, nor how *Crucados ala au virelai* when he found the fairies in the forest; that is to say, two very definite episodes of the version he has in mind do not belong in his opinion to the story. The fact that the supernatural is found elsewhere in the poem, as Mr. Dickman later points out (pp. 13-14), confirms us in this interpretation. In the two examples from the *Enfances Ogier*, where Adenet asserts that he wants to tell nothing but the truth and *mensonges ôter*, there can be no doubt that he is but following the old fashion of recommending his work as the true version of his story to the detriment of his rivals, and is expressing no opposition to the supernatural. Three of Adenet's works provide forty-four items for the author's Index.

No criticism of this sort can, however, detract materially from a thesis which makes so brave a showing as this one.

University of Wisconsin

LUCY M. GAY

The Merveilleux in the Epic. By Ralph Coplestone Williams. Paris: Champion, 1925. 152 pp.

The author, sufficiently known by a number of useful studies on the theory of the epic during the Renaissance,¹ presents a correct and no doubt valuable exposition of the history not of general epic theory (as one might wrongly deduce from the somewhat vague title) but of epic theory in France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The study proper is preceded by a necessarily succinct account of the ancient epic. Here and there one may venture to differ, especially in the Homeric question, and one wonders whether the author would not have modified some of his views had he read Michel Bréal's lucid little volume *Pour mieux connaître Homère*, and one wonders still more what he means by "this naturalistic religion which they [i.e., the Greeks] had brought from the Orient" [sic]; but these are obviously side-issues on which it would be futile to argue in this connection. The treatment of the Renaissance theorizers is illuminating and of the greatest importance for the French epic, since their dicta turn up time and again in the treatises of French critics. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France are largely taken up by an exchange of arguments between the propounders of the *merveilleux chrétien* and the *merveilleux païen*, the former out-stripping the latter both in number and vociferousness. Since many, if not all, of the treatises quoted are inaccessible to students working in this country, and since all of them are unspeakably dull, the outlines given by the author will render no mean service; so will the copious bibliography attached to the volume.

It may sound ungrateful to express regret at two gaps which, let us hope, will be filled some time in the future, viz., the history of epic theory outside of Italy and France, notably in Spain, the Netherlands and Germany, and the history of theory on the mock epic. After all, Tesson's *Secchia rapita* and Voltaire's *Pucelle* are productions which have in a certain measure defied

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV, 161-165, and XXXVI, 449-457; *The Romantic Review*, XII, 1-20, 276-285; *Modern Philology*, XXII, 133-158.

time; they certainly did provoke a good deal of comment in their own period, and those discussions, it would seem, are not altogether lacking in interest.

University of Minnesota

ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE

Victor Hugo, the Man and the Poet, by William F. Giese. The Dial Press, New York: 1926. 1x + 315 pp.

To cite the preface *passim*; Hugo's real reputation rests on his poetry. Is the high opinion of his poetry held by French critics justified? The personality of the poet pervades his work and often mars it. The characteristics of Hugo's poetry are also main traits of romantic literature. The poetry studied is mainly that of the poet's best years, 1829 to 1859. An attempt is made to do for Hugo criticism what has been done for Hugo biography by Edmond Biré, that is, to reduce to reasonable proportions "the super-human shadow that the giant of the legend has thus far thrown over the field of criticism."

After a discussion of Hugo the man and of his conception of the poet's mission, follow chapters on such topics as: "Imagination," "Nature," "Sentiment," "Thought," and "Style." Professor Giese shows how Hugo's egotism, love of violent contrast, poor taste and shallowness of thought and sentiment made it impossible for him to write poetry of sustained excellence. Hugo sees his world in its purely physical aspects. His mastery of words and his active imagination enable him to present a series of striking pictures, but his faults prevent him from giving his readers anything that provokes thought or satisfies real emotions.

Though Professor Giese pauses at times to pay tribute to Hugo's imaginative and rhythmic talents, his criticism is on the whole condemnatory, and if accepted by the reader—and it is hard to deny the evidence offered by the numerous quotations—leaves Hugo little reputation as a serious poet. It may not be unfair to note that the critic's own style is so clever, so full of subtle irony, that the reader will often be more interested in form than in content.

University of Iowa

CHARLES E. YOUNG

Etude littéraire et linguistique de Li Hystore de Julius Cesar de Jehan de Tuin, by V. L. Dedeczek. A thesis. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Romanic languages and literatures. No. 13.

This work carries to completion the studies of F. Settegast, editor of *li Hystore de Julius Cesar* from the linguistic and literary points of view.

Jehan de Tuin, the author of the *Hystore*, made use in his work of both the *Pharsale* and the *Commentaries*, but he does not translate closely. Following the tendencies of his time, he has no respect for local color, no intelligence of things ancient. He has changed greatly the text of Lucan, in that he rejects that which he deems would not be of interest to his public and adds things of his own which will flatter their taste.

These changes Mr. Dedeczek makes evident to us by comparisons of the text of Jehan with corresponding passages of the *Pharsale*. The concise style of Lucan is expanded and diluted; most of the images and difficult passages are omitted; the description of a battle will transform itself into that of a tournament with the traditional expressions preserved since the beginning of the

chansons de geste. All pagan supernatural or marvellous elements have disappeared, also the moral lesson of liberty and patriotism which Lucan taught. However, Jehan, being a clerk and of his own time, must moralize. We see each character chiefly in terms of the virtue or the defect he represents; the ideal knight is offered to us and his description is followed by a list of the virtues we should attain and of the vices that we should shun. Thus has Jehan introduced into the *Hystore* the ideal of chivalry: gallantry in action and *l'amour courtois*. Strangely enough and yet naturally enough, Cesar embodies this ideal, he who in the *Pharsale* was the hard and selfish tyrant. But such was the tendency of the age. Cesar's love with Cleopatra furnishes a detailed illustration of *l'amour courtois*.

Jehan lingers on his description of the beauties of the queen, seeming to follow the amorous theory which the god of love gives to Amant in the *Roman de la Rose* in describing the steps that a true lover should walk in the winning of his lady.

Despite all this, Jehan claims the title of historian; for if he wanders from the original, it is with deliberate intention, and he adds only through necessity.

Mr. Dedecek has devoted a chapter to dialectical considerations that confirms the fact that Jehan de Tuin's language corresponds to the dialect of the region whence he came: Thouin, a small city in the Belgian Hainaut, situated at the boundary between the wallon and the picard dialects. Applying to the text the researches of M. Wilmotte in his *Etudes de dialectologie wallonne*, Mr. Dedecek concludes that the wallon dialect has been pretty well preserved in the *Hystore*, but that it has undergone an influence by the central and picard dialects.

University of Iowa

A. J. DICKMAN

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RENAISSANCE INFLUENCES IN HALL'S *MUNDUS ALTER ET IDEM*

By SANDFORD M. SALYER
University of Oklahoma

Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* is a delightful and really important prose work that has been almost entirely neglected by modern students of literature. This disregard is doubtless due to the fact that not more than a fortieth part of the work has been adequately translated and even the Latin text, in a complete form, is not readily accessible. As an example of a rare type of Jacobean prose fiction it deserves wider attention.

The work is an early seventeenth-century prototype of *Gulliver's Travels*. As such it is a satire on humanity in general, on the characteristic vices of European nations in particular, and on various religious sects. In addition, it is a burlesque on the monstrous travel yarns of the Middle Ages, and even on the serious but unreliable accounts of voyages of the author's own day. A thread of allegory runs through most of it, and the place-names have clever double meanings that defy translation but are inordinately amusing.

Hall depicts the discovery of a new world at the South Pole, where all the old-world vices are applauded as virtues, and where the prevailing modes of conduct are quite the opposite of those in the lands left behind. The new continent is peopled by four distinct nations, the gluttons of Crapulia, the viragoes of Viraginia, the fools of Moronia, and the brigands and mountebanks of Lavernia. Crapulia has two main divisions, Pamphagonia, whose inhabitants are gourmands, and Yvronia, where none but drunkards reside. It is difficult to understand why students of early picaresque fiction have failed even to mention Hall's narrative of Lavernian travel in their accounts. His chapters on Pamphagonia and Viraginia demand attention from students of Grobian and shrew literature. His picture of Moronia is one of the cleverest

of all Fool-books, but it has been unaccountably ignored in studies of that type of writing.

There are in this little prose satire many evidences of the influence of earlier writers which it is worth while to trace. Classic parallels are numerous, and some are of an unusual sort; but the influences of continental satirists of the age preceding Hall's own are the strongest, and it is some of these that I wish to note in this paper.

In scheme and general treatment the *Mundus* bears little relation to the works of its immediate period. Were it not for a few contemporary allusions and our certainty as to its authorship and date, it might be mistaken for a work of the days of Erasmus. It has quite the flavor of the products of the late Renaissance. Perhaps Hall, just established as a churchman, feared its authorship might be detected and strove consciously to give it a coloring of this sort in order thus to legitimize a work otherwise in danger of being condemned for frivolity. To associate himself at the outset with such grave minds as More and Erasmus, who on occasion could adopt a delightfully playful spirit, would disarm criticism. But it is more likely that Hall unconsciously fell into the mood. That he was by nature akin to men of this temperament will be proved, I feel sure, when we investigate his indebtedness to them. We shall find much that recalls the Renaissance writers, in spirit and tone, and some passages sufficiently like them in phrasing to warrant the charge of borrowing.

Hall was least like More and may be said to have borrowed almost nothing from him. The *Mundus* has, however, been repeatedly called an ideal commonwealth and if its slight resemblance to this type is to be considered, the *Utopia*, rather than any earlier work, must have inspired it. If Hall tried really to portray an ideal state, he produced his effect by an extended and elaborate use of antithesis: he suggested how life ought to be by depicting all its worse aspects. Therefore, although he must have had the *Utopia* in mind, he was unable to utilize it as a model for details, for he was constantly employing the very material which More omitted. He acknowledges an acquaintance with More's work and, in a single instance, an inspiration from it: he coins the noun *Anylon* by analogy with More's *Anydros*.¹

Aside from any ethical, educational, or sociological value, and

¹ More, *Utopia*. Text in Morley's *Ideal Commonwealths*, London, 1889, p. 92.

judged merely as a clever piece of literary craftsmanship, the *Mundus* is superior to the *Utopia*. It is on a larger scale; it has more variety in structure and in style, as well as a somewhat wider scope. Its narrative interest, though thin, is more compelling. There is a wider range of characters—shadowy, to be sure, but sufficiently varied. There are a few surprisingly good descriptive passages notable for their individuality of appeal, and such relief is wanting in the *Utopia*.

In his schemes for describing the various states Hall adopts broadly More's plan. The order and general character of details are the same. In his introductory chapters Hall invariably states common geographic facts—the boundaries, nature of the land, main divisions, and names of cities. In succeeding sections he particularizes about the towns and then describes the population, the government, the habits of the people, their commerce, education, culture, and religion. It is only in this broad scheme that he follows More. Hall's tendency is to add accounts of special trips, interesting incidents, or characteristics, and in these original departures he is most interesting. More's material placed him at the same disadvantage under which Hall labored in a part of a later work, his *Characterismes of Vices*. Descriptions of vice permit of a livelier treatment. Therefore Hall's Poneropolis surpassed More's Utopia just as his own *Vices* were later to prove more attractive in their handling than his *Virtues*.

It was More's friend, Erasmus, who had the more pronounced influence on the *Mundus*. He was a favorite author of Hall's. In the latter's subsequent writings there are frequent allusions to him, and in the *Mundus* Hall twice points the way to him in footnotes.² But these references by no means tell the story of Hall's indebtedness to him. Little of this influence, however, came from the *Encomium Moriae*. That work may have slightly affected the general attitude toward Folly in the Moronia pictures, but from it the author appropriated only one specific idea, the clever noun *Morosophi*, which he used to designate the leaders of thought in Fool-Land.³ It was the *Colloquia familiaria* that Hall used extensively. At some points the parallels are verbally close, but there are numerous other associations of ideas that show that Hall's

² *Mundus*, Book II, chap. iii, and Book III, chap. vii, sec. 3. (All references to Hall's works are to Wynter's edition, Oxford, 1863.)

³ *Ibid.*, Book III, chap. ii.

mind continually harked back to this little book which he must have known in his boyhood.

Pamphagonia in the *Mundus* was a land where pears, plums, and apples grew in the hedge-rows, where "game-birds suffered themselves to be taken in hand," and fish were so eager to be caught that "as soon as the hook was cast in they swarmed around and clung to it."⁴ Akin to this is Erasmus's description of the country where, "the pompons, the melons, the figs, the pears, the apples, and the nuts are offered to you by the trees themselves; you need but gape, and they'll fall into your mouth, as it was in the Fortunate Islands."⁵

In Pamphagonia, too, in the suburbs of Ucalegon, Hall finds that "the inhabitants are almost always asleep and, like Pliny's bear, are sunk in such deep slumber that they cannot be aroused even with blows. In lethargy like this they grow marvelously fat."⁶ In his *Convivium prophanum* Erasmus represents a character as affirming, "I remember I saw a man when I was in Italy that grew fat with sleep, without the assistance of either meat or drink." To support the assertion he adds, "I am the greatest liar in the world if Pliny, an author of undoubted credit, has not written that a bear in fourteen days will grow fat with nothing but sleep."⁷

Hall's Glutlanders, with their surfeit of rich viands, are represented as getting "so full that for almost forty days they loathe the flesh; therefore, they eat fish."⁸ This, he explains, is done only that with a keener appetite they may approach the neglected meat. Erasmus has numerous comments on this fish-eating custom and devotes to it an entire colloquy, the *Ἰχθυοφαγία*. In this the same idea is presented from a slightly different point of view. "And I wish heartily," he concludes, "that eating fish were forbidden, too; then people would covet it more earnestly."⁹

Hall made the monstrous bird Ruc the chief divinity in Glutland and represented it as surrounded by a flock of attendant Harpy-like creatures.¹⁰ Erasmus introduced a swarm of similar monstrous fowls: "There followed him a great way off some birds. . . . He said

⁴ *Ibid.*, Book I, chap. ii.

⁵ Erasmus, *The Colloquies*. Translation by N. Bailey, London, 1878, I, 158.

⁶ *Mundus*, Book I, chap. viii.

⁷ Bailey, *op. cit.*, I, 131.

⁸ *Mundus*, Book I, chap. x.

⁹ Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

¹⁰ *Mundus*, Book I, chap. x.

that by their color and cry he might have taken them for magpies, but they were sixteen times as big; about the size of vultures, having combs upon their heads, with crooked beaks, and gorbellies. If there had been but three of them he would have taken them for Harpyes.”¹¹

In his Yvronian pictures, also, Hall draws freely upon suggestions in Erasmus. The stringency of the laws governing the drinkers at banquets is thus ridiculed in the latter's *Convivium prophanum*:

Christian. What, won't you pledge me when I drink to you? You ought to have taken off half the cup of him that drank to you.

Austin. He excused me for that a great while ago. He discharged me of that obligation.

Christian. Pray, who gave him that power? The Pope himself can hardly dispense with this obligation. You know the ancient law of drinking.

Austin. He that an oath is made to has power to suspend it, and especially he whose concern it was to have kept it.

Christian. But it is the duty of all guests to observe the law inviolably.¹²

Hall similarly satirizes the custom. Over the gateway of his metropolis he places the emblem, ἡ πότις ἡ ἀποτίς. Inscribed among the city laws is the regulation, “A man in responding to a toast shall drain a beaker of the same size as that with which the toast was offered.”¹³ To insure obedience to the law, Hall informs us that “from the very beginning of the feast there had been stationed, a little above the others at the end, a public recorder, called the Auffzeichiner. He in his tablets set down all their drinks as though they were public acts. If anyone was detected failing in his duty, he might give satisfaction by performing it; but if he refused, it was the custom that he should not be let off without paying a large forfeit.”¹⁴

Earlier Erasmus had raised the question, “I have a mind to ask you for what reason the ancients, who will have Bacchus the inventor of wine, call him the God of Poets? What has that drunken god to do with poets, who are the votaries of the Virgin Muses?”¹⁵ Hall represents each man at his Yvronian banquet as offering a toast to a poet, and he observes, “It was done under the auspices of Bacchus, since the Muses were unwilling.”¹⁶ In a note on this

¹¹ Bailey, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 66.

¹³ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. iv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Book I, Part II, chap. iii.

¹⁵ Bailey, *op. cit.*, I, 126.

¹⁶ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. iii.

passage he comments, "Horace has said truly of such as these, 'either the man is mad, or he makes verses.' " In this observation he echoes the Crito of Erasmus: "You know we poets are a sort of enthusiasts, I won't say madmen."

Those who remember Hall's strong sentiments against the burial of the dead in churches and his provision in his will that his own body should not be so interred¹⁷ will recognize his kinship in feeling with Erasmus who thus attacked the custom: "Rich men nowadays will have their monuments in churches. . . . I believe in time they'll be for having their corpses laid even in the very altars themselves."¹⁸ This practice Hall describes as one of the Moronian follies. "It is not their custom to bury the dead. According to their notion it is inhuman to hide away under the ground a parent, a wife, or a friend, merely because the soul has left the body."¹⁹

In the Πτωλογία Erasmus represents Irides as reflecting, "The Goddess Laverna makes many rich on a sudden." Misoponus replies, "What! Do you think I got my estate by thieving?" Bailey, in his note on this passage, says of Laverna:

She was the patroness of thieves, *especially in the sense of secret contrivers of fraud*, at Rome. Horace (Epistle I, 16-60) introduces the picture of a hypocrite who, after offering public sacrifice and loudly calling on Janus and Apollo, gods of Light and Day, mutters under his breath the following prayer: 'Fair Laverna, grant me grace to deceive, grace to appear a just and holy man; cast the veil of night over my sins; cover my frauds with a cloud!' ²⁰

Hall, in designating his Thief Land by the name of Lavernia, stated that its goddess was Laverna, and quoted part of this passage from Horace to explain his use of the name.

In describing the divinity of the Fool's Paradise, Hall says, "The Madonna Lauretta, St. James of Compostella, and our Parathalassian Virgin mentioned by Desiderius, all shrink to insignificance when compared to the goddess Fortune."²¹ This is one of Hall's two direct references to Erasmus, but he does not give his exact source. There is an epistle of Erasmus to Ammonius in which he describes a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, and he wrote some Greek verses about it; but Hall doubtless had

¹⁷ *Complete Works*, I, lxxviii.

¹⁸ Bailey, *op. cit.*, I, 190.

¹⁹ *Mundus*, Book III, chap. ii.

²⁰ Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 428, and notes.

²¹ *Mundus*, Book III, chap. vii, sec. 3.

in mind the *Perigrinatio religionis* in the *Colloquia*. There Ogygius remarks, "I have been to pay a visit to St. James at Compostella, and after that the famous Parathalassian Virgin in England." "I have often heard of James," Menedemus observes, "but prithee give me some account of that beyond-sea lady." Then Ogygius explains, "Her name is very famous all over England; and you shall scarce find anybody in that island, who thinks his affairs can be prosperous unless every year he makes some present to that lady, greater or smaller."²² Erasmus represents each suppliant at her shrine as begging a different boon; the merchant prays for riches; the gamester, luck; the usurer, large interest; the maid, a husband; and the old woman, health. Clearly, Hall has this passage in mind in his account of the suppliants of Fortune: "One besought the love that had been refused him; one prayed for domestic tranquility, another for honor, and another for gold. . . . I saw wrinkled old women hoping for renewed youth. I saw ugly, awkward young girls imploring the goddess to grant them beauty and grace."²³ It is to be noted that throughout his treatment of the adoration of Fortune Hall keeps in mind the spirit of the worshippers at the shrines of saints, and at several other points he seems to have been inspired by this colloquy of Erasmus.

It is certain that Hall had read the *Colloquia*, and his two direct statements of indebtedness to Erasmus, as well as the numerous passages in which I have pointed out such close similarities to his work, seem to prove that he had the earlier satirist's work in mind throughout. Hall is entirely original in his main plan and his important details of development. It is only in secondary conceptions that he harks back to the classic of his boyhood. But that these conceptions were suggested by, and harmonized so well with, the natural development of his general scheme indicates that Hall in temperament was closely akin to the author of the *Colloquia*.

The pervading satiric tone and attitude, however, throughout the *Mundus* resemble even more strongly those of Rabelais. Most of the few brief notices of the *Mundus* have already pointed out the presence of a vague Rabelaisian coloring, but Professor A. H. Upham is alone in indicating any specific parallels, and he seems to have given only casual attention to the work. Hall gives evidence of having read Rabelais as a student at Cambridge. In his *Virgi-*

²² Bailey, *op. cit.*, II, 2.

²³ *Mundus*, Book III, chap. vii, sec. 3.

demiarum he mentioned him twice—once in disparagement of his “drunken revellings.”²⁴ It is almost certain that in this work, too, he borrowed from him his Inns of Heaven idea²⁵ which was so little to the taste of Milton. Later he must have grown to appreciate the finer qualities of the mighty Frenchman, for, though he could not have hoped to approach him either in scope or depth, he seems consciously to have tried to imitate his manner. Of course, Hall can profess to be no more than a pigmy Rabelais; but even in this character he is interesting as being almost the sole representative of this manner from Rabelais himself to Swift. In the quality of his satire Hall holds a midway position between the two, being neither so buoyant as Rabelais, nor so saturnine as Swift, but partaking in a measure of each of these qualities.

Professor Upham has noted that in the battle scene in the *Mundus*, where “the Pamphagonians go to war with spits and two-pronged forks as weapons, Hall is imitating Friar John’s attack on the Anduilles.”²⁶ He has further pointed out that “the epitaph of the Grand Duke Omasius is in the spirit that concludes Rabelais’s prologues.” There are numerous other similarities, at least as close as these, that Professor Upham has failed to observe.

The most striking Rabelaisian influence in the whole of the *Mundus* is seen in the Journey to the Sacred Bottle which occupies all of chapter vii, in Book I, Part II. Clearly the main idea in this was suggested by Pantagruel’s expedition to the Oracle of the Bottle, Book V, chapters xxxv-xxxvii, although the narrative details are dissimilar.

Rabelais’s general plan is that of a fictional voyage, and so is Hall’s, both originally following Lucian. Rabelais, as has been shown through numerous investigations, made the true accounts of such voyages as Cartier and his companions the basis for his fiction. But he did not hesitate to take his thrust at them in a merry mood—at “Albert, the great Jacobin friar, . . . Volterranus, Paulus Jovius, the valiant, Jemmy Cartier, . . . Marco Polo, the Venetian, Ludovico Romano, . . . and forty cartloads of other modern historians lurking behind a piece of tapestry, where they were at it ding-dong, privately scribbling the Lord knows what, and

²⁴ Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, Book II, Sat. I, l. 57.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Book II, Sat. VII, ll. 27-50.

²⁶ A. H. Upham, *French Influences on English Literature*, New York, 1908, p. 247.

making rare work of it, . . . and all by hearsay."²⁷ Most of these names, we may remember, appear in Hall's serious catalogue in his introductory chapter.²⁸

Hall and Rabelais are at one in their fling at the wild travel yarns of the medieval geographers. Rabelais continues, "Among the rest they descanted with great prolixity on . . . the Troglogytes, the Hymantopodes, or crump-footed nation, the Blemiae, people that wear their heads in the middle of their breasts; the Pigmyes, the cannibals, the Hyperboriae and their mountains; . . . and the devil of all others; every individual word of it by hearsay." In scattered allusions throughout the *Mundus* Hall pokes fun at all these myths. In the *Virgidemiarum* he had already held up to scorn

the sweet-sauced lies of some false traveller

Which hath the Spanish Decades read a while
Or whetstone leasings of old Mandeville,—
Of the bird Rue, that bears an elephant;
Of Mermaids that the Southern Seas do haunt;
Of headless men, of savage cannibals.²⁹

Later, in his *Quo vadis*, Hall reverted to the subject:

Out of our books, we can tell the stories of the Monocelli, who, lying upon their backs, shelter themselves from the sun with the shadow of their one only foot. We can tell of those cheap-dieted men who live about the head of the Ganges, without meat, without mouths, feeding only upon air at their nostrils; or of those headless eastern people that have their eyes in their breasts.³⁰

One of Hall's four geographical divisions is his Thief Land, Lavernia. Although he derived the name of this from Erasmus, he doubtless drew the conception of it from Rabelais. The latter gives an account of an island of thieves which he thus describes: "It is the island of Ganabin. . . . The people are all thieves; yet there is the finest fountain in the world, and a very large forest toward the right top of the mountain. This place is just such . . . as was the Poneropolis of Philip of Thrace"; it was the home of "thieves, banditti, picaroons, robbers, ruffians, and murderers."³¹ A note by the editors on this passage explains that it refers to "the authors of that age, who . . . were very great plagiaries." In Hall's

²⁷ *Works of Rabelais*, translated by Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter Motteux, London, 1901, V, 155.

²⁸ *Mundus, Itineris occasio*, p. 409.

²⁹ *Virgidemiarum*, Book IV, Sat. VI.

³⁰ *Quo vadis*, Sec. XI, Hall's *Works*, ix, 541.

³¹ Urquhart and Motteux, IV, 285.

Lavernia a terrible forest on a mountain, infested with banditti is described, and one county of the kingdom is given over to the plagiarists.³²

In his description of the free city, Ucalegon, in Pamphagonia, Hall further drew upon Rabelais. Professor Upham failed to note that this place-name of Hall's occurs as a nick-name for Panurge in Book IV, chapter xxii. He has pointed out, however, that the city itself in the *Mundus* "is situated on a rocky height, very difficult of access, as is Gaster's country in Rabelais."³³ Hall names the emperor of Crapulia Cagastrus, a name clearly suggested by Gaster, and the slavish obedience of the subjects of both these monarchs is the same.

In Rabelais the Queen of Whims is represented as employing *prae gustors* to taste her food, as well as *masticators* to chew it. Later it is poured down her throat with a funnel of gold.³⁴ The citizens of Hall's Ucalegon are quite as indolent. He says,

They have many servants. One, with a gentle hand opens his master's eyes for him when he is minded to wake up; a second fans him with a flapper while he eats; a third slips tid-bits into his mouth when it opens; . . . and still another loosens his belt or clasps it. The master has enough to do to sit still while the food is stuffed into his mouth and to masticate it.³⁵

In several minor details Hall suggests Rabelais. The worst disease in Lavernia is the *argentangina*,³⁶ or silver quinsey. Pantagruel declares to Panurge, "I would sooner sell you silence, though at a dearer rate, as Demosthenes formerly sold it by means of his *argentangina*, or silver quinsey."³⁷ In describing a bigot whose devotion so essentially consists in kissing a cross that he must always have one at hand, Rabelais represents him as crossing his thumbs and constantly holding them over his mouth.³⁸ Hall has similar bigots in Moronia who can walk only with a cross gait.³⁹ The rule of the Capuchins which forbade them to touch money was an object of satire for Renaissance writers generally. "Thou knowest well," says Rabelais's Frère Conscoil, "that by the express rules, canons, and injunctions of our order we are forbidden

³² *Mundus*, Book IV, chap. ii, and chap. vii.

³³ Upham, p. 247.

³⁴ Urquhart and Motteux, V, 109.

³⁵ *Mundus*, Book I, chap. viii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Book IV, chap. v.

³⁷ Urquhart and Motteux, IV, 247.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 238.

³⁹ *Mundus*, Book III, chap. viii, sec. 1.

to carry about us any kind of money."⁴⁰ Rabelais descants on the "she-priests of the Lyaeon god, and demented prophetesses carrying ivy-boughs in their hands, . . . as in the like case among the Galli, the gelded priests of Cybele were wont to do in celebrating their festivals."⁴¹ Hall's Hermaphrodites are made to say in their own defence, "Read in your histories about those half-women of a former age, performing the rites of Cybele. Can you say, by Heaven, those were not sacred ceremonies?"⁴²

The prayers in Rabelais teem with encomia of drinking. They are in much the same spirit as many lines in the Yvronian descriptions. "Drink always, and you shall never die," says Rabelais. "He drinks in vain that feels not the pleasure of it." "Appetite comes with eating, but thirst goes away with drinking." "Drink always before you thirst, and it will never come upon you." To give point to these passages Urquhart and Motteux quote an old French rhyme:

Remplis ton verre vuide,
Vuide ton verre plein,
Je ne plus souffrir dans ta main
Un verre ni vuide ni plein.⁴³

This is quite like one of the laws in Hall's Yvronia which demanded that "glasses must always be either full or empty."⁴⁴ In an odd use of a word here and there Hall further suggests Rabelais. When the latter mentions "une chapelle d'eau rose," his editors explain that he means "a distilling chapel, or a limbeck."⁴⁵ This explains Hall's reference to a Burning Chapel in Pyraenia, or Whiskey-town;⁴⁶ obviously he is alluding to a still.

Frequent word-plays such as Rabelais indulges in are characteristic of Hall, too, and to a far greater extent, for Hall feels bound to append a full glossary at the conclusion of his work. In the complexity of his allegorical scheme Hall surpasses the older satirist. In his list of Paracelsan words⁴⁷ there is an imitation of many Rabelaisian catalogues of a like sort. Wherever Mercurius Britannicus travels he finds, as do Pantagruel and Panurge, old

⁴⁰ Urquhart and Motteux, III, 146.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 285.

⁴² *Mundus*, Book II, chap. vi.

⁴³ Urquhart and Motteux, I, 108.

⁴⁴ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. iv.

⁴⁵ *Oeuvres de Rabelais*, ed. Burgaud des Marets et Rathery, Paris, 1893, II, 148.

⁴⁶ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. vii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Book III, chap. iii, sec. 3.

coins, epitaphs, and inscriptions over gates, all with their own clever fitness to the subject in hand and all kindred in spirit.

Occasionally Rabelais mentions Merlin Coccaius,⁴⁸ or draws an idea from his *Macaronic History*. Thuasne in his *Etude sur Rabelais* observes the influence which Folegno had upon the French satirist and a resemblance between their works in some respects. The points in which Folegno is like Rabelais are just those in which Hall differs from him, and therefore little similarity is to be found between the author of the *Mundus* and the *Macaronic History*, although there are some general Macaronic touches in Hall's place-names, and he once alludes to Cingar's girdle. It is hardly likely that Hall had read Folegno in the original. Of the latter's work Thuasne says:

Erit en vers hexamètres dans une langue composée de latin, d'italien, de dialecte mantouan, avec des mots ventiens, brescian, bergamesques, et autres, mais où le mantouen prédomine, ce chef-d'œuvre de Folegno présente souvent des difficultés sérieuses non seulement pour les étrangers, mais pour les Italiens eux-mêmes, qui ne sont pas familiarisés avec ses différents parlers.⁴⁹

With the general nature of the work, however, Hall must have been familiar, and its mixture of dialects possibly suggested the Macaronic name-combinations already noted.

When it is recalled that *Moronia* is described as by far the largest country in the *Mundus*, Brandt's *Narrenschiff* naturally suggests itself as a possible source. Furthermore, as Jameson says, "Brandt's fools are represented as contemptible and loathsome, rather than *foolish*, and what he calls follies might be more correctly described as sins and vices."⁵⁰ Therefore, it would seem that this work might have supplied inspiration for the author's imaginative handling of the Moronian's neighbors, also. It is true that Hall includes more than half of the sins and vices which Brandt exposes, but in hardly a single detail of his treatment of them does he reflect the older writer. He must have been familiar with this widely-circulated work; but only the vaguest and most diffused influence, if any at all, is apparent in his own satire.

There is, on the other hand, a tiny volume which is associated with works of the Brandt school, but which has not been included, to my knowledge, in lists of that type of literature. This is *L'Hos-*

⁴⁸ Teofilo Folegno, *Opus Merlini Coccaii Poetae Mantuani macaronicum*, Venice, 1585.

⁴⁹ Louis Thuasne, *Etudes sur Rabelais*, Paris, 1904, p. 167.

⁵⁰ Barclay, *The Ship of Fools*, ed. by T. H. Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1874, I, XV.

pidale de' pazzi incurabili, by Tommaso Garzoni.⁵¹ Hall shows his familiarity with the author of this work by including him as a character in his county of Pious Fools. He says, "We must notice here Ptochaemum, in Monte Bagnacavallo, the largest and finest Hospital for Incurables in all the world. . . . At present its praefect is Garzonius, an upright and careful man, who has divided all the people of this sort into various definite classes."⁵² In a foot-note explaining this allusion he mentions the title of Garzoni's book, and adds the unflattering comment: "A rather stupid work by Thomas Garzonius of Bagnacavallo."

Elsewhere (in a note on Book III, chapter v) Hall admits that he derived his noun *Tarocchium* from the heading to Garzoni's thirteenth discourse. Many other chapter headings, representing Garzoni's categories of fools, are remarkably like Hall's but beyond these the Italian writer, because of the more serious nature of his work, had no influence.

In addition to the Rabelaisian influence in the account of Glutland, there are coarse touches quite as unsavory as anything in Swift. Undoubtedly these are to be traced to Dedekind's *Grobianus*.⁵³ The English version appeared in 1605, the year the *Mundus* was published; it is therefore not likely that Hall had seen it. But he must have been familiar with the Latin verses. According to the laws of Yvronia, "glasses must always be either full or empty." This but echoes the sentiments of *Grobianus*: "It is a shame that empty cups should on the table stand."⁵⁴ The Yvronian law in regard to health-drinking which I have quoted earlier has its parallel in *Grobianus*,

Until the man to whom you drank have pledged you to the full
Permit not him in any case the pot from mouth to pull.⁵⁵

There is also in Dedekind a parallel conception to Hall's requirement that a public record be kept of all drinks,

Then as you stand, with careful looks marke all that sit at meete,
And marke the quantity that everie man doth drinke and eate.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Pisa, 1586. (The English version of 1600 was attributed to Nashe. See McKerrow's *Nashe*, V, 34.)

⁵² *Mundus*, Book III, chap. viii, sec. 1.

⁵³ Friederich Dedekind, *Grobianus*, ed. Ernst Ruhl, Berlin, 1904. This edition contains the 1605 translation, *The Schoole of Slovenrie*, from which my quotations in the text are made.)

⁵⁴ *The Schoole of Slovenrie*, I, 8, 1126.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 2, 2924-5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 8, 1008-9.

Among the Yvronians it was considered that nothing is wrong which a drunken man does, because it is not the man himself who does it, but Bacchus.⁵⁷ With *Grobianus* the same excuse held good:

Forsooth you ought to blame for this my drunkenness, not me.⁵⁸

Hall observes that, by a law of the Caesars, it had been declared illegal to belch or vomit. But the Yvronians, he says, had a custom of electing as toastmaster for the next banquet "quisque maxime viriliter, clare, et strenue ructaverit."⁵⁹ In *Grobianus* we find,

Claudius edicto ructu crepitusque teneri,
Damna valetudo ne ferat inde, vetat.⁶⁰

At the Yvronian banquets vessels were placed on both sides of each guest, "Matula, qua urinam; trulla, qua vomitum excepturus est."⁶¹ Similarly we find in Dedekind's satire,

Matula sub mensam ponatur maxima, in illam
Quicquid opus fuerit reddere quisque potest.⁶²

Further similarities to the *Grobianus* might easily be pointed out; I have been concerned here only in noting their presence and giving representative specimens.

The foregoing parallels seem to me sufficient to show the general tone of the *Mundus alter et idem*. They have not been adduced to emphasize Hall's indebtedness—though in most cases they do that—so much as to show the general nature of his work. It has all the flavor of the late Renaissance. Written in Latin, adorned and pointed with a variety of classic allusions, and playing upon words of all languages until one's ingenuity is taxed to get the full meaning, it unquestionably appeals to any reader who brings to it what Lucian called "an educated curiosity." There is an allegorical device, sometimes of a three- or four-fold complexity, that is another link with the earlier age. Under it all is a serious purpose. The work is the counterpart of *Utopia*; its object is not constructive but destructive. The numerous parallels with Erasmus reveal a kinship in interests and style; those with Rabelais, a similarity in satiric method. The latter, also, together with the utilization of Grobian material, show a freedom verging upon coarseness which was later to reach its culmination in the work of Swift.

⁵⁷ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. iii.

⁵⁸ *The Schoole of Slovenrie*, I, 8, 1120.

⁵⁹ *Mundus*, Book I, chap. ix.

⁶⁰ *Grobianus*, I, 6.

⁶¹ *Mundus*, Book I, Part II, chap. iii.

⁶² *Grobianus*, II, 9.

DRYDEN AS A STATIST

By MERRITT Y. HUGHES

University of California

In his *Age of Dryden* (1907, p. 22), Mr. Garnett sums up the poet's limitations as a political thinker with the remark that, "He unquestionably belonged to that class of mankind who cannot discern principles apart from persons." This is, of course, as much as to say that in politics Dryden was either a sentimentalist or an opportunist. The author of the *Discourse on Satire* might have been irritated by Mr. Garnett's opinion, but most of his admirers in the twentieth century accept it with a certain satisfaction, as evidence that he was too pure an artist to be a good philosopher or a good citizen. They remember that "The Inconsistency of John Dryden" extended to his critical writings, as Mr. Percy Houston has shown in an article under that title,¹ and that his poetic talent, which Mr. Van Doren's study of his poetry has shown to have been fundamentally 'declarative,' was consistent only in its strength.

By his own confession, Dryden was a 'Trimmer,' yet, if his satires and many passages in his plays are examined, his political prejudices prove to have been remarkably well balanced and consistent. The principles by which he justified his prejudices may sometimes be contradictory, but we ought to forgive much on that score in the twentieth century, when we profess to understand very much better than Hobbes did that "the thoughts are to the desires, as scouts, and spies, to range abroad, and find the way to things desired."² From the bottom of his security-loving soul, Dryden agreed with Hobbes that "the first and fundamental law of nature . . . is 'to seek peace and follow it.'"³ Dryden, however, as we shall see, had very much less in common with Hobbes than he had with Halifax. Many modern British Liberals look back to *The Character of a Trimmer* as to the fountain-head of their political thinking. If Dryden's writings generally sustain his assertion in

¹ In *The Sewanee Review*, XXII, 469-482.

² *Leviathan*, Morley's Universal Library Ed., p. 41.

³ *Leviathan*, p. 66.

The Vindication of the Duke of Guise that he was a 'Trimmer,' he deserves a place among the founders of the Liberal Party.

The inconsistency of Dryden's political thinking, however, went deep, and for this there were two reasons. Though he lived at a time when democracy and utilitarianism were becoming positive revolutionary currents, he was caught in the eddies of reaction against mobocracy and in favor of an idealized monarchy. Few of his contemporaries can have had any conception of the real course being taken by the political drift. Dryden was one of the first to understand it and no one fought more shrewdly than he did to avert the Revolution of 1688. The historical irony of his satires is the fact that they defended the idea of a strong but limited monarchy which the Revolution established. Fundamentally, he sympathized with the *Zeitgeist*, even though he deplored the *tempora* and the *mores*.

Had Dryden been aware that there are such things as 'social problems,' it would have been all but impossible for him to think clearly about them. He lived when the shift toward modern commercial society was first making itself ineluctably but confusingly felt. His career began precisely at the moment in English history when civilized people were most afraid of mob violence. His literary interests made him unduly sympathetic with the dying feudalism which flourished in the Indian Summer of the historical plays and of the chivalrous romances of the Elizabethans. The Tudor tradition of contempt for the mass of men at the bottom of society survived without essential change until Dryden's death. Two causes had underlain its expression in the literature of the Renaissance. One was the well founded fear of mob violence during the fanaticism of the Reformation and the other was the aristocratic individualism of the humanists. The latter survived; but its vigor had been sapped, partly by exhaustion, partly by the incipient drift toward utilitarianism, but chiefly by the diversion to popular pamphleteering of the energies of the men who would naturally have written for fit audiences, though few. Elizabethan literature abounded with professions of contempt for the 'rascal many,' but after the Civil War there was a change. The first document which Mr. Spingarn includes in his *Representative Critical Essays* of the latter part of the seventeenth century, Davenant's Preface to *Gondibert*, is inconsistent about the matter. At the beginning of his essay Davenant approached the topic confidently in the conventional way:

The common crowd, of whom we are hopelesse, we desert, being rather to be corrected by Laws, where precept is accompanied with punishment, then to be taught by Poesy; for few have arriv'd at the skill of Orpheus or at his good fortune, whom we may suppose to have met with extraordinary Grecian Beasts, when he so successfully reclaim'd them with his Harp.⁴

Later, when Davenant was involved in the mazes of Hobbes's thought and was trying to extend his friend's system to include the poet's art, he fell into the self-contradiction of making poetry a substitute for popular sanctions which he agreed with Hobbes in thinking ought to be secured by the church, but which the centrifugal Protestantism of the seventeenth century had notoriously failed to secure. Thus the business of literature was brought down to making English beasts as submissive as the "extraordinary Grecian beasts" in the despised story of Orpheus.

Davenant's tastes and prejudices were not in harmony with the opinion into which he was forced by his discipleship of Hobbes and his practice in *Gondibert* and in his plays contradicted it. "The Distempers of Love and Ambition," he wrote in the Preface,⁵ "are the only Characters I design'd to expose as objects of terror." And he continued,

I never meant to prostitute Wickednesse in the Images of low and contemptible people, as if I expected the meanest of the multitude for my Readers, since only the Rabble is seen at common executions.

The *false* note in this profession of literary faith betrays the snobbery of a man whose artistic work had been constrained by Puritan censorship and by the tyranny of a utilitarianism which made the maintenance of *morale* the object of art. For a man who felt as Davenant did, it was impossible to imagine characters like Dogberry and Verges or like the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*. To Dryden also such figures seemed to have been happily banished from the stage.

The poets of this age, [he wrote in *The Defence of the Epilogue to the Second Part of the Conquest of Granada* (quoted by W. P. Ker in his introduction to *The Selected Essays of John Dryden*, Oxford, 1900, p. lviii)] will be more wary than to imitate the meanness of his [Jonson's] persons. Gentlemen will now be entertained with the follies of each other; and though they allow Cob and Tibb to speak properly, yet they are not much pleased with their tankard or with their rags.

The technique of the Heroic Play made it natural that mobs should often act as a kind of *deus* or *diabolus ex machina*, but,

⁴ *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 16.

whether they were on the side of the angels or of the devils, they were reviled with an ill will seldom found in Elizabethan dramas. To some modern tastes Shakespeare's frank though not ill-natured contempt for his Roman mobs has marred his plays. Hazlitt made a passionate complaint on that ground against *Coriolanus* and Whitman coolly dismissed Shakespeare from the democratic universe. Compared, however, with his imitators in the Restoration, Shakespeare seems to have been almost a humanitarian. Otway's *Fall of Caius Marius* opens with a situation patterned on the first scene of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. The rabble shout "Liberty, liberty! Marius and Sulpitius! Liberty, Liberty, Liberty!" When they have been cleared away, Cinna inveighs against them in a style which is redolent of the bitterness of the English Civil War.

Cinna.

The time when Romans knew
The extent of laws, prerogatives, and dues;
The bounds of dues and magistracy; who
Ought first to govern, and who must obey.
It was not thus when godlike Scipio held
The scale of power; he who with temp'rate poise
Knew how to guide the people's liberty
In its full bounds, nor did the nobles wrong,
For he himself was one.

The play develops with two main interests. One is the romantic love story of Caius, Junior, and the daughter of his father's enemy, which was rifled without essential alteration from *Romeo and Juliet*. The other is the story of Marius' fall, which can hardly pretend to be a tragedy but which is a shrewd dramatic satire on popular mobs. The third scene of Act II opens with a dialogue between some workmen who make popular government ridiculous by complacently discussing themselves as ruling democrats. The Second Citizen sums it up when he says:

The truth on't is, there's nothing like a civil government, where good subjects may have leave to knock out brains to maintain privileges.

Marius is represented as a merely cynical demagogue. He interrupts the citizens' dialogue to say to them:

I am no noble but a free-born man,
A citizen of Rome, as all you are,
A lover of your liberties and laws,
Your rights and privileges.

The mob oscillates between one party and the other throughout the remainder of the play and the action ends with the loss of Marius' cause by the revolt of the 'rabble' to Sylla.

Dryden shared Otway's fear and hatred of mobs simply as mobs. Like Henry III in *The Duke of Guise* (Act II, scene i), he made the first axiom of statecraft the belief that,

'Tis true, the people
Ne'er know a mean, when once they get the power.

The rabble in that play and in *Oedipus* are demonstrators of the axiom. In *The Spanish Friar*, Leonora's worst fear is that if she marries Bertram, her subjects will rebel:

I fear my people's faith;
That hot-mouthed beast, that bears against the curb,
Hard to be broken even by lawful kings,
But harder by usurpers.—(Act III, scene ii)

In *The Conquest of Granada*, the panic in Seville is the means of forcing Boabdelin to lift his unjust decree of banishment against Almanzor. The tyrant's courtiers have no respect for the motives of the rabble, but they have a kind of faith in the justice of its impulse to use lynch law.

Abdelmelech. Their fright to no persuasion will give ear:
There's a deaf madness in a people's fear.
Abenemar. Since blind opinion does their reason sway,
You must submit to cure them their own way.
You to their fancies physic must apply;
Give them that chief on whom they most rely.
—(Part II, Act I, scene ii)

Dryden's occasional acceptance of the whims of his mobs as something with which practical rulers must reckon was quite in Shakespeare's way. He fell short of Shakespeare because his prejudices both as a man and as a playwright prevented him from seeing the comedy in the proletariat when viewed 'close up.'

There were two excellent reasons why Dryden and his contemporaries should despise the crowd. One of them was the fact that the Commons of England had just made a noisome exhibition of 'pestilential zeal.' The other was the appearance of a darkly-disillusioned crowd-psychology which followed as a corollary of Hobbes's thought. Hobbes expressed both reasons in his chapter on The Virtues Intellectual (*Leviathan*, I, viii) where he studied the alchemy which transforms both the fanaticism and the economic discontent of individuals into the "extravagant action, that proceedeth from such passion." In one of his great periods he gave his idea the force of a natural law:

For as in the midst of the sea, though a man perceive no sound of that part of the water next him, yet he is well-assured, that part contributes as

much to the roaring of the sea, as any other part of the same quantity; so also, though we perceive no great unquietness in one or two men, yet we may be well assured, that their singular passions, are parts of the seditious roaring of a troubled nation.

To Dryden the relation of religious and political heresies to mob violence always appeared in the guise of inexorable natural law, as a conviction that sometimes *les dieux ont soif*, or, if he was too good a Christian for that idea, as a belief that sometimes the Titans and the devils break loose. *Astraea Redux* opens with a passage which resembles Hobbes's simile of the roaring sea:

Thus when the bold Typhoeus scal'd the Sky
And forc'd great Jove from his own Heaven to fly,
(What King, what Crown, from Treason's reach is free,
If *Jove* and *Heaven* can violated be?)
The lesser Gods that shar'd his prosp'rous State
All suffer'd in the Exil'd Thunderer's Fate.
The Rabble now such Freedom did enjoy,
As Winds at Sea, that use it to destroy:
Blind as the *Cyclops*, and as wild as he,
They own'd a lawless savage libertie,
Like that our painted Ancestors so priz'd
Ere Empire's Arts their Breasts had Civiliz'd.—(Ll. 37-48)

In *The Duke of Guise* it is a devil, Melanax, who has ten thousand imps "in a fanatic habit" ready to "speak rebellion, schism, murder" in Paris (IV, ii) and who reminds the mob (IV, iv), "That the rabble may depose their prince hath in all times, and in all countries, been accounted lawful." Maximin, in *Tyrannic Love*, understands quite as well as the Hind the wicked foolishness of those

... who left the Scriptures to the crowd,
Each for his own peculiar judge allow'd,
(*The Hind and the Panther*, II, 254-255)

and in a tirade of ten lines he summarizes the causes of the Civil War as Dryden saw them and explains the popular psychology which Achitophel understood so well:

The silly crowd, by factious teachers brought
To think that faith untrue, their youth was taught,
Run on in new opinions, blindly bold,
Neglect, contemn, and then assault the old.
The infectious madness seizes every part,
And from the head distils upon the heart.
And first they think their prince's faith not true,
And then proceed to offer him a new;
Which if refused, all duty from them cast,
To their new faith they make new kings at last.
—(Act II, scene iii)

For Dryden and for his contemporaries the political ideals of

the Elizabethans were as unworkable as the Victorian ideals have become for us. The public for which *The Faerie Queene* was written imagined the state as a commonwealth in which all classes were bound together by subtle loyalties based upon 'justice distributive' which gave to every man the position due to him in society, assured him of the privileges belonging to his rank, and bound him by the code incumbent upon the *honnête homme* on every social level. It was the feudal theory rejuvenated by Neo-Platonic doctrine which flowered naturally into such poetry as Spenser's *Legends of Justice* and of *Courtesy*. For Dryden the very word 'Commonwealth' had become a reproach. It implied a Bolshevik state torn by irreconcilable sects, most of which held some variety of crude levelling doctrine.

The people, [wrote Davenant in the Preface to *Gondibert*] look upon the outward glory or blaze of Courts as wilde Beasts in dark nights stare at their Hunters' Torches; but though the expences of Courts, whereby they shine, is that consuming glory whereby the people think their liberty is wasted,—for wealth is their liberty, and loved by them even to jealousy, being themselves a courser sort of Princes, apter to take than to pay,—yet Courts . . . are not the schools whereby men are bred to oppression.

Only two outlets from this blind fear of the mob seemed possible in the first years of Charles's reign. One was the course which Milton chose. It consisted in refining the idea of liberty and making it a practical political guide. Milton, as he ended *The Second Defence of the People of England*, felt for a moment that such an ideal of liberty might be the motive of an epic poem with the story of Cromwell's Commonwealth as its fable. He even felt that his defence of liberty in his pamphlets almost raised them to the rank of such an epic, and plead,

I have delivered my testimony, I would almost say have erected a monument, that will not readily be destroyed, to the reality of those singular and mighty achievements which are above all praise. As the epic poet . . . does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Aeneas into Italy; so it will be sufficient . . . that I have heroically celebrated at least one exploit of my countrymen.⁶

To Dryden and to Davenant, looking out from the blaze of Charles's court at the encircling wild beasts, the liberty which Milton "heroically celebrated" seemed to be the only serious danger

⁶ *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, 12, 13.

⁷ *The Prose Works of John Milton*, Ed. by H. G. Bohn, London, 1848, I, 299.

to the public safety. In the Second Part of *Absalom and Achitophel* Dryden made liberty and freedom antithetical terms:

That Prince who yields the least of Regal Sway,
So far his People's Freedom does Betray.
Right lives by Law, and Law subsists by Pow'r;
Disarm the Shepherd, Wolves the Flock devour.
—(Ll. 739-742)

In idealizing the 'Shepherd' Dryden and his fellow 'heroic' playwrights thought that they saw an outlet for literature from the *impasse* into which the Civil War had brought the sympathy and the imagination of cultivated Englishmen. Quite frankly, in their confusion of mind and in the general indulgence of nostalgia for the past which the Restoration encouraged, they proposed a return to Elizabethan idealization of kings. Already creative minds were beginning to look back with feeling akin to Wordsworth's when he wrote the sonnet to Milton to the 'spacious times.' In *Britannia and Raleigh*, Marvell made England recall that

The other day famed Spenser did I bring,
In lofty notes Tudor's blest reign to sing,

and hope that there might still be a literature which would excite Englishmen to

. . . admire the Talbots, Sidneys, Veres,
Drake, Cavendish, Blake, men void of slavish fears,
True sons of glory, pillars of the state,
On whose famed deeds all tongues and writers wait.

To-day it is obvious that there was no vitality left in the idealization of kings and magistrates. The illusion had been destroyed in all educated minds by the analysis of the characters of great men which played so significant a rôle in literature throughout the seventeenth century, and which was soon to reach its climax in Clarendon's and in Burnet's *Histories* and in the great character cartoons in Dryden's satires themselves. To writers in the Restoration this was not clear until it was proved by their disillusion with the Heroic Play. The experiment made with the Heroic Play was as definite and conclusive as a modern biometric test. Rymer laid down the rule that, "All crowned heads by poetical right are heroes. The character is . . . a prerogative so certain, as by no poet, no parliament of poets, ever to be invaded."⁸ "Kings," he

⁸ The first passage is quoted with approval by Dryden in *The Vindication of the "The Duke of Guise," Works of John Dryden*, Ed. Scott and Saintsbury, VII, 159. Dryden, however, as Mr. Ker has pointed out, (in his in-

said, "are always in poetry presumed heroes," and for fifteen years a drama with that sentence for its formula held the stage. Its literary origins have been traced⁹ in French classical tragedy, in the Italian and French romances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the 'decadent romanticism' of Beaumont and Fletcher, but the forces which gave it life were not merely literary. The popularity of the heroic plays lasted no longer than did Charles's popularity with the great majority of his subjects at Whitehall and in London. Rymer's theory was the complement of Hobbes's doctrine that the sovereign's power should be unlimited. The faith of the public in absolute monarchs, both real and fictive, broke down long before the Revolution of 1688 and Dryden only reflected public opinion in his disillusion with his heroic plays and in his shift to satire as the best medium for defending the medial position in politics of which he finally became convinced:

Our Temp'rate Isle will no extremes sustain
Of Pop'lar Sway or Arbitrary Reign:
But slides between them both into the best;
Secure in Freedom, in a Monarch blest.
—(*The Medall*, ll. 248-251)

The practical effect of Rymer's principles was simply to prove that kings were no longer subjects for tragedy. Nahum Tate's experience with his revision of *Richard II* illustrates the risk run even by an emasculated tragedy if the hero was royal. With Rymer's *Tragedies of the last Age Considered* before him, Tate invested Richard with "greater resolution and justice" than Shakespeare had given him, eliminated the scene where the conspirators against Richard attack his character, because "he wou'd not allow even Traytors and Conspirators thus to bespatter a person . . . design'd [for] the Love and Compassion of the Audience," and he even apologized for the fact that the plot made it necessary to retain Richard's act of injustice in distraining the property of old John of Gaunt. In spite of all this, the play was "disliked" by

troduction to his Ed. of the *Essays*, I, lv) "wished to safeguard himself from association with the exaggerated virtue of the 'faultless monster'." "For my own part," wrote Dryden in the Preface to *The Conquest of Granada* (*ibid.*, I, 155), "I declare myself for Homer and Tasso, and am more in love with Achilles and Rinaldo than with Cyrus and Oroondates."

⁹ B. J. Pendlebury has discussed all the theories of the origin of the Heroic Play in the standard histories of the drama, but he does not allude to one which suggests the possibility of non-literary forces as having influenced it in any way, and he makes no such suggestion himself. *Vide Dryden's Heroic Plays*, by B. J. Pendlebury, London, 1923, p. 92, and *passim*.

the town and disallowed by the Court, even though Tate made a desperate attempt to stave off prohibition by changing its title to that of *The Sicilian Usurper*. London had lost its taste for "sad stories of the deaths of kings." Without yet understanding the fact, it was fast losing its taste for stories of any kind about kings on the stage. The Heroic Play was the last important drama in England in which royalty as such regularly took the principal part.

Without quite realizing the fact, Englishmen during the Restoration finally lost faith in the idea of kings. Instead of 'pillars of the state' in the Tudor sense, they turned to a balance of powers defined by legal sanctions. As Selden said in his *Table Talk*, anent the policy followed with respect to the elder Charles, "The King is a King men have made for their own sakes, for quietness' sake." The joint sovereigns whom the nation finally called to the throne "for quietness' sake" bore no resemblance to the Tudor monarchs. Hobbes when he advised in the *Leviathan* that the king should be invested with more absolute authority than that enjoyed by Henry VIII was only giving counsel of despair. Between 1651, the date of publication of the *Leviathan*, and 1690, the year of Locke's *Two Treatises on Government*, Hobbes's absolutism gave way to the theory of constitutional monarchy. The change in political thought during that interval of forty years was the work of pamphleteers and of satirists rather than of abstract thinkers, and the last stage before Locke is represented by Halifax's *Character of a Trimmer* and by Dryden's satires. Halifax's position in the history of both literature and political thought is comparatively clear, but Dryden's has been obscured because he is always studied as an artist whose political ideas are in themselves insignificant.

'Mere literature,' at best, they may be, or mere partizanship at worst, but they seem to have been nourished on a study of the political writers of the seventeenth century hardly less extensive than that which Dryden devoted to the literary critics of his time. It is a little surprising in the Dedication of *The Medall* to the Whigs to find Dryden claiming familiarity with Marvell's and with Milton's tracts.

I have perused some of your papers, and to show you that I have, the third part of your *No Protestant Plot* is, much of it, stolen from your dead author's pamphlet, called the *Growth of Popery* (by Marvell), as manifestly as Milton's *Defence of the English People* is from Buchanan's *De jure Regis apud Scotos*, or your First Covenant and New Association with the Holy League of the French Guisards.¹⁰

¹⁰ *The Poems of John Dryden*, Oxford Ed., 1913, pp. 82, 83.

Scott noticed the extent of Dryden's learning in lore of this kind and Saintsbury has remarked (in *Dryden*, 1881, p. 72) his 'scholastic mind' and his fondness for controversy with all the paraphernalia of logic working on a fixed body of dogmatic principle. His constant skill in burlesque of the favorite reasoning of his enemies is certain proof of his direct acquaintance with their formidable pamphlets. Dryden took ironic delight in the details of Shaftesbury's tortuous eloquence which he knew so well how to transmute into satire.

He preaches to the crowd that power is lent
But not conveyed by kingly government,
That claims successive have no binding force,
That coronation oaths are things of course;
Maintains the multitude can never err,
And sets the people in the papal chair.
The reason's obvious, interest never lies:
The most have still their interest in their eyes,
The power is always theirs and power is ever wise.
—(*The Medall*, ll. 82-90)

Such passages are the stuff of which *Absalom and Achitophel* is made. They reflect a keen reaction to the pamphleteering of the Whigs and indicate a mind alert to the whole controversial literature of the time.

There is little indication that Dryden was a careful reader of the formal political treatises of the Commonwealth men. If his works contain evidence of acquaintance with Filmer or with Harrington, it has escaped me. On the other hand, his knowledge of Hobbes is hard to assess. The only professed disciple whom Hobbes made during his lifetime was Davenant. Cowley's only allusion to his philosophical speculations is a vague stanza in the *Pindarique to Mr. Hobbes* which suggests admiration rather than conversion to any of the doctrines of the *Leviathan*:

Thou great Columbus of the golden lands of new philosophies!
Thy task was harder much than his,
For thy learn'd America is
Not only found out first by thee,
And rudely left to future industry,
But thy eloquence and wit
Have planted, peopled, built, and civiliz'd it.

Dryden's relations with the king whom Marvell called "a Roman Catholic in creed, a Hobbist in conversation, a sensualist in practice," and his long life in a society where Hobbes's thought was commonly accepted as the philosophy of a gentleman, make it cer-

tain that he was familiar with 'Hobbism.' His direct allusions to Hobbes are few.

I dare affirm, [he says in the *Essays of Heroic Plays*] that the whole doctrine of separated beings, whether these spirits are incorporeal substances (as Mr. Hobbes, with some reason, thinks to imply a contradiction), or that they are a thinner or more aerial sort of bodies (as some of the Fathers have conjectured), may be better explicated by poets than by philosophers or divines.¹¹

In general, Dryden was much less tolerant of Hobbes as a theologian than he appears in this casual passage. *The Hind and the Panther* sometimes seems like a direct reply to the rationalism of the *Leviathan*. The passage ending in the epigram,

Let reason then at her own quarry fly,
But how can finite grasp infinity?—(Ll. 104, 105)

reads as if it were a direct rejoinder to Hobbes's argument that

Both parts of a contradiction cannot possibly be true; and therefore to enjoin belief of them, is an argument of ignorance; which detects the author in that; and discredits him in all things else he shall propound as from revelation supernatural; which revelation a man may indeed have of many things above, but of nothing against natural reason.—(*Leviathan*, pp. 104, 105)

Dryden's objection against those who argue ironically that miracles must be

The motive still of credibility,

seems to be aimed at Hobbes's famous passage about the miracles of the Bible (*Leviathan*, pp. 61-22) which concludes, "So that miracles failing, faith failed." Similarly, Hobbes's compliment to the doctrine of Transubstantiation (p. 154) is abundantly paid back in *The Hind and the Panther* (Part I, 134-153 and 410-429). Three of Dryden's passages (Part I, 480-490, Part II, 29-37 and 70-137) seem like a rebuke to Hobbes for his ironical defence of royal infallibility on the ground that "the points of doctrine concerning the kingdom of God have so great an influence on the kingdom of men, as not to be determined but by them that under God have the sovereign power" (*Leviathan*, p. 205).

More passages implicitly contradicting Hobbes's thought than reflecting it can be picked out of the satires, but there are others in the plays which run so evenly in the channel of his ideas that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Dryden had become a devotee of the philosopher, at least for literary purposes. It is certain that he knew what kind of theories the *Leviathan* contained. A

¹¹ *Essays*, Ed. by W. P. Ker, I, 153.

passage from the Second Part of *The Conquest of Granada*, if it does not prove that Dryden had recently been reading Hobbes, is at least a striking indication that the philosopher's theories were well acclimatized in the theatre. The passage is too long for quotation in full. It begins with a revolt of the Moors in Granada, to give an account of which to the king, Boabdelin, Abdelmelech interrupts him in a conversation with Abenemar and Zulema. The first topical allusion is Boabdelin's reply, which must have recalled Charles's recent difficulties with his Parliament in the Dutch War.

Boabdelin. See what the many-headed beast demands!
 Cursed is that king whose honour's in their hands.
 In senates either they too slowly grant,
 Or saucily refuse to aid my want;
 And, when this thrift has ruined me in war,
 They call their insolence my want of care.
 —(Part II, Act I, scene ii)

Perhaps the origin of the allusion was wholly topical, but Dryden, though he may never have read the *Leviathan*, can hardly have failed at some time to make the acquaintance of Hobbes's *Philosophical Rudiments*, and to have been struck by its determination in the eighth section of the greatest dispute between the crown and the nation in the seventeenth century:

Since . . . it necessarily belongs to rulers, for the subjects' safety, to discover the enemy's counsel, to keep garrisons, and to have money in continual readiness; and that princes are, by the law of nature, bound to use their whole endeavour in procuring the welfare of their subjects: it follows, that it is not only lawful for them to send out spies, to maintain soldiers, to build forts, and to require monies for these purposes; but also that it is unlawful not to do thus.¹²

In the next speech but one to that just quoted, Dryden touches the idea which was the starting-point of most seventeenth century speculation about government and which was fundamental to Hobbes's thought.

Zulema. Those kings, who to their wild demands consent,
 Teach others the same way to discontent.
 Freedom in subjects is not nor can be;
 But still, to please 'em, we must call 'em free.
 Propriety, which they an idol make,
 Or law, or law's interpreters, can shake.

"Freedom in subjects is not nor can be" was the postulate from which Hobbes began his system, and the chief business of government was to deliver society from "the dissolute condition of masterless men." Dryden's use of the term "law's interpreters" seems

¹² *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Molesworth, London, 1841, p. 167.

to reflect the extreme view of Hobbes that law emanates solely from the sovereign's arbitrary will. Hobbes had written:

The interpretation of the laws of nature in a commonwealth dependeth not on the books of moral philosophy. The authority of writers without the authority of the commonwealth maketh not their opinion law, be they never so true. . . For though it be naturally reasonable, yet it is by the sovereign power that it is law.¹³

Before this definition of law the claims of 'propriety' itself crumpled.

Propriety, which they an idol make,
Or law, or law's interpreters, can shake.

Boabdelin's speech embodied the argument for arbitrary power which was fundamental with Hobbes, and Abenemar's reply ends with the Hobbesian idea that rebellion is unjust because it is a violation of the social contract.

Boabdelin. But kings, who rule with limited command,
Have players' scepters put into their hand,
Pow'r has no balance, one side still weighs down,
And either hoists the commonwealth or crown. . . .

Abenemar. While people tug for freedom, kings for pow'r,
Both sink beneath some foreign conqueror;
Then subjects find, too late they were unjust,
And want that pow'r of kings they durst not trust.

The allusion in the last two lines is to Hobbes's "second law of nature" which is "to perform contracts or to keep trust." Rebellion against the crown, Hobbes argued, is a breach of the supreme contract upon which society rests and its penalty is forfeiture of civil security and of protection against foreign aggression. It was one of his most revolutionary ideas because it shifted the whole emphasis in the idea of 'justice distributive' from the maintenance of the hierarchy between the king and his subjects to the exaltation of the sovereign at the expense of both nobles and commons.

In *The Conquest of Granada* Dryden betrays acquaintance with the rudiments of Hobbes's political theories and at least a dilettante's interest in them. His characters, however, even at the time when he wrote the play, may not have reflected his own opinions very accurately. In his satires rather more moderate and certainly more personal and more mature political ideas are expressed. In *Absalom and Achitophel* (ll. 759-810) he discusses general political principles and suggests Hobbes by insisting on the absolute sacred-

¹³ *Prose Works*, p. 70.

ness of the contract which constitutes civil society by establishing monarchy, but he soon abandons that ground to argue to the same conclusion on more traditional and reasonable lines. There can be little doubt that Dryden, to the end of his life, like Placidus in *Tyrannic Love*, held stoutly to the belief that

. . . monarchs are the gods' vice-regents here.—(Act III, scene i)

The people cannot incapacitate the king [he wrote in *The Vindication of "The Duke of Guise"* (*Works*, Ed. Scott and Saintsbury, VII, p. 214)], because he derives not his right from them, but from God only; neither can any action, much less opinion of a sovereign, render him incapable, for the same reason; excepting only a voluntary resignation to his immediate heir.

An equally emphatic assertion of 'divine right' which involves a direct denial of Hobbes's principles is to be found in *Absalom* (11. 759-764). Again in *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel*, with irony not unlike that of Hobbes himself, Dryden insinuated his scorn for the extreme partisans both of the Crown and of the Constitution, his contempt for

The Laws made King, the King a Slave in Trust.—(L. 237)

The author of *Absalom and Achitophel* was no democrat, but his independence of extreme royalist ideas even in that satire is striking. It would have been natural to follow Hobbes in claiming the absolute right of the monarch to dispose of the succession, but Dryden respected the principles of constitutional legitimacy and rested his case on that. David is content that:

The law shall still direct my peaceful sway,
And the same law teach rebels to obey.
Votes shall no more established power control,
Such votes as make a part exceed the whole.—(Ll. 991-995)

In spite of his violent antipathy for the Whigs, Dryden maintained independence of the Court. It was natural that 'Bayes' should be a friend of the royal cause, but we may not be altogether mistaken, if Mr. Drinkwater is right in his interpretation of Charles's character, should we look for one motive of sympathy between the two men in their common fondness for the *via media* in politics. In his satires Dryden regularly steered by the principle which he stated in the Dedication of *The Medall* to the Whigs: "All good subjects abhor the thought of arbitrary power, whether it be in one or in many."¹⁴ It is probably an overstatement to say, as

¹⁴ *Poems*, Oxford Ed., p. 82.

Mr. Verrall did,¹⁵ that he was always at heart a consistently moderate Parliament man, but the passage from the *Epistle to John Dryden* (a cousin) which Mr. Verrall cited as representing his position better than anything else he ever wrote is a window into at least one compartment of his mind.

Patriots in peace assert the people's right,
 With noble stubbornness resisting might:
 No lawless mandate from the court receive,
 Nor lend by force but in a body give.
 Such was your generous grandsire, free to grant
 In Parliaments that weighed their Prince's want:
 But so tenacious of the common cause
 As not to lend the King against his laws.

In *Absalom and Achitophel* Dryden makes David ask, speaking perhaps partly for his creator,

Whence comes it that religion and the laws
 Should be more Absalom's than David's cause?—(Ll. 969, 970)

If Dryden was David's partisan, he was so because it happened that the laws, in letter and in spirit, were on David's side. The key to Dryden's political thought and to his contribution to the political ideas of his countrymen should be sought in his belief that the correct position on every question is an independent and realistic attitude, guided by respect for the law. Once that is appreciated, his inconsistency disappears, and instead of seeming helpless or indifferent in matters political—a time-server who could not “discern principles from persons” and who changed even his faith with the winds of royal caprice—he becomes the author of a body of satire which ought to be ranked with George Savile's contribution to English liberalism in *The Character of a Trimmer*.

¹⁵ *Lectures on Dryden*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 20.

BAUDELAIRE AND THE AESTHETICS OF THE SENSATIONS

By. S. A. RHODES
The Rice Institute

Even a cursory reading of *Les Fleurs du Mal* will reveal in their author an extraordinary sensitiveness to respond to things physical as touchstones to a spiritual realization of the universe. Baudelaire held that the artist is nature's repository and the apostle of her beauty and mystery only thanks to the uncommon acuteness and susceptibility of his senses keyed to feel and echo her variegated effects. Were his genius for æsthetic receptivity no greater than that of the average man, his gift to mankind could be no greater. Perhaps thus can the inspired hours of artistic creation be best interpreted; hours of exaltation, when the creative mind seems as if imbued with the holiday spirit of life, when the senses feel more keenly finer sensations, when the blue of the sky seems more infinite, the sounds in the air more musical, when colors are vividly eloquent, and perfumes suggest untold harmonies. The artist then feels in himself the faculties of a superman to create new forms of life and beauty.¹

A true measure of the artist's originality, nay, of his genius, Baudelaire insists, is the quality and degree of his sensitiveness.² For the impelling forces in thought and action are the emotions, and to reflect the complex, refined, luxurious seductions of modern life the senses of the artist must be pitched high and be ready to respond to all stimuli. He must be conscious of his intuitive and sensuous reactions to them, and of the intimate relationship between his æsthetic life and his physiological or psychological life, between his spirit and nature.³ Coupled with unyielding mental energy and labor, he can then make of his joys and pains the substance of his literary work. In the resultant artistic creation there is caught forever an echo of the universal rhythm that sways life.

¹ *Curiosités Esthétiques*, Paris, 1921, p. 246.

² *Fusées*, (xxi). "Ne méprisez pas la sensibilité de personne. La sensibilité de chacun c'est son génie." *Oeuvres Posthumes*, Paris, 1887, p. 84.

³ "Pourquoi ce mystère physiologique ne ferait-il pas le fond et le tuf d'une œuvre littéraire." "L'art Romantique, Paris, 1925, p. 48.

A clear distinction must be made between these views and those expressed by sensualists or Hedonists. For the latter, any activity, æsthetic or otherwise, results ordinarily in either pleasure or pain and in not much more.⁴ For Baudelaire, sensuous experiences were only the gateways to a world of beauty, to the mystery and spirituality he felt ambient in life. He would have the artist place himself at the cross-roads of human passions and let his heart be the battleground of their struggles.⁵ He wished to cultivate his sensitiveness to be the nurse of his inspiration, to be the mirror of the mysterious and ever present universe about him. The senses could truly be, in that way, the bonds that attach man to the invisible and ever potent forces of life, to their plastic and spiritual beauty.

I

MUSICAL SENSATIONS

It is a matter of current truism that all forms of personal expression in man, physical as well as spiritual, are affected by emotional factors. The converse is no less true. Nietzsche held that "by means of music the very passions enjoy themselves."⁶ Schopenhauer thought that it expressed the *will itself*.⁷ More recently René Ghil constructed an "instrumentation verbale" of vowels with their corresponding emotions.⁸ Music, Baudelaire thought, can not only stir the sensations and provoke voluptuous responses such as no other earthly stimulus can afford, but it can even challenge thought and intellectual reactions. Through the operation of a psychological law to him unknown, it seemed to him it could become the vehicle of what would otherwise be inexpressible and intangible. Thus it can evoke most intensely the highest, most evanescent sentiments in modern life. Or it can be the medium of a spiritual experience, something equivalent to an inspiration which opens the gates of a beyond into which only prescience of mind and of heart, or divine revelation can otherwise initiate the

⁴ Cf. Benedetto Croce, *Aesthetics*, tr. by Douglas Ainslie, London, 1909, pp. 124, 365.

⁵ "Le sieur Baudelaire," he writes, "a assez de génie pour étudier le crime dans son propre coeur." Letter to Poulet-Malassis, Oct. 1, 1865. To Albert Ancelle he wrote Feb. 18, 1866: "... je cultive volontairement la sottise, comme je l'ai fait pendant vingt ans pour le siècle, pour en extraire la quintessence." *Lettres 1841-1866*, Paris, 1915, pp. 463, 523.

⁶ *Beyond Good and Evil*, (Mod. Lib. ed., New York), p. 80.

⁷ *Vide* Benedetto Croce, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁸ *En Méthode à l'Oeuvre*, Paris, 1904, p. 57.

senses.⁹ The sensitive responses of an imaginative organism can be, in this manner, the medium for creating a spiritual world distinct from the material. This is well expressed in his sonnet "La Musique":

La musique souvent me prend comme une mer!
 Vers ma pâle étoile,
 Sous un plafond de brune ou dans un vaste éther,
 Je mets à la voile; . . .

It may be objected that no parallel exists between the composer and the poet, between poetry and music. "The writer does not create as the composer does," will write one critic.¹⁰ Another, however, will see that the ways of the musician and of the poet are almost, if not wholly, identical.¹¹ To Baudelaire, indeed, poetry was music and vice versa. For the former depends as much upon sounds, melodies, rhythms, and harmonies as the latter. Poetry, he said, "borders on, and blends with, music in a way that no dogmatic theorizing can explain because both draw their substance not from mere technique but from the human soul."¹² He sought to give to poetry the wings of music, to make of it a medium by means of which to arouse deep and lasting emotions, the preoccupations of the mind and the restlessness of the heart. He wished to bring it within the magic circle of Joubert's supreme definition: "Rien de ce qui ne transporte pas n'est poésie: La lyre est en quelque manière un instrument ailé."¹³

In Baudelaire's aesthetics, then, the unfailing quality of all great poetry is its musicality. The refined and cultivated senses of the poet are most readily responsive to the suggestions of music.¹⁴ Hence poetry must vibrate rhythmically with the natural instinct for music in the human organism. It must have musical fulness. The individual poem and verse, as best exemplified by the sonnet and the alexandrine, must have a sonorous, ample, and unbroken

⁹ Cf. *L'Art Romantique*, "Richard Wagner et Tannhauser à Paris," pp. 212-219.

¹⁰ Professor John Erskine, *The Literary Discipline*, New York, 1923, p. 54.

¹¹ Becq de Fouquières, *Versification française*, Paris, 1879, p. 182.

¹² Proposed "Préface" for the third edition of *Les Fleurs du Mal*; vide J. Crépet ed., Paris, 1922, pp. 374-376.

¹³ *Pensées*, (4th ed. 1864), Poetry section, ix, II, 265.

¹⁴ Je connais un poète d'une nature toujours orageuse et vibrante (can he be thinking of himself here?), qu'un vers de Malherbe, symétrique et carré de mélodie, jette dans de longues extases." *L'Art Romantique*, p. 20.

Elsewhere he writes: "Culte de la sensation multipliée et s'exprimant par la musique." *Mon Cœur mis à nu*, (lvii). *Oeuvres Posthumes*, p. 114.

cadence so as to render the impressions they produce unforgettable. Thus can poetic diction scale the various steps of the spiritual and æsthetic life, enrich the domain of artistic expression, and increase the faculty of the senses to look into the soul.

II

COLOR SENSATIONS

The author of "Tableaux Parisiens" carried to an equally high degree of development the art of evoking sensations through plastic and color suggestions, for the power of visualizing feelings was innate in him who had "l'amour de la Peinture jusqu'à dans les nerfs."¹⁵ A color harmony, Baudelaire held, is an end in itself, just as a musical melody is, not necessarily a means of portraying recognizable objects. Lines and colors are capable of conveying æsthetic messages through whatever forms their interplay may create. People who demand truthfulness to nature mean in reality truthfulness to objects that they can see and recognize. Only then do they recognize any merits to artistic works. According to these people, color has no capacity to evoke dreams, or thoughts, or emotions; it does not sing, it does not speak. It may come to pass, however, as it was beginning to dawn on some painters of Baudelaire's generation, whom he staunchly supported, and as it is becoming increasingly evident now, that color may be painted for its own sake, just as songs are written without words, or symphonies without librettos, simply because these can speak directly to the mind and to the senses a language superior to and more eloquent than that of the man in the street.¹⁶

Some colors, Baudelaire wrote, invite to joy and cheerfulness, others to revery and contemplation, and still others to melancholy. Some tones are gay and frolicsome, others are calm and sad, others still are plaintive, terrible, or tragic. Color, in other words, can reflect or suggest a sentiment just as style reflects a temperament. In painting itself, the colorist is the poet among painters, who, knowing the value of each shade and tint, the harmony, melody, and counterpoint in them, can speak with colors the language of the poet.¹⁷

Aesthetic feelings can then not only be expressed through colors,

¹⁵ *Curiosités Esthétiques*, p. 358.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 89, 92.

but these in turn can speak their eloquent messages which neither the painter nor the poet can ignore. The latter, primarily, concerns us here. To him, as much as to the painter, Baudelaire insisted, the visible world is an unescapable reality. He scouts the idea that writing may be considered not the appropriate medium to make manifest the visible phenomena of life. Words, he believed, are like magic symbols at the disposal of the artist with which he can summon forth the plastic beauty of the universe.¹⁸ The true poet cannot but glory over his visual responses and intoxicate his senses with them. In fact, all the phenomena of day and night, of dawn and sunset, of twilight and midday are to him as but the variations of an entrancing symphony of colors.¹⁹

His remarkable virtuosity to react to color stimuli enabled Baudelaire to seek and to see the secret harmony existing between the play of colors and the play of sensations in the human organism. He could visualize thought, idealism, dreams, love, passions, pessimism, and extract as well as infuse spirit and life into every plastic aspect of nature. Of his thoughts he writes:

Tu verras mes Pensers comme les cierges . . .
Mille pensers . . .
. . . dégagent leur aile . . .
Teintés d'azur, glacés de rose, lamés d'or.²⁰

His idealism is like:

Des Cieux Spirituels l'inaccessible azur,²¹

and his dreams appear to him painted on a canvas of glowing colors of which he considers himself the

. . . peintre fier de mon génie, . . .
Architecte de mes féeries . . .²²

Woman tantalizes his vision:

Que j'aime voir, chère indolente,
De ton corps si beau
Comme une étoffe vacillante
Miroiter la peau!²³

¹⁸ *Vide* Paul Cladel, "Chez Feu mon Maître," included in the "Appendice" to Eugène and Jacques Crépet, *Charles Baudelaire, Étude Biographique*, Paris, 1919, p. 247.

¹⁹ *Curiosités Esthétiques*, p. 89.

²⁰ "A une Madone," LVII, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, Jacques Crépet ed., "Le Flacon," XLVIII.

²¹ "L'Aube Spirituelle," XLVI.

²² "Rêve Parisien," CXII.

²³ "Le Serpent qui danse," XXVIII.

and we behold a canvas recalling Goya in:

La très chère était nue, et connaissant mon coeur,
Elle n'avait gardé que ses bijoux sonores, . . .²⁴

We find patches in grey all too eloquent of weariness of the senses and dejection of the mind and heart as in:

Pluviôse, irrité contre la vie entière,
De son urne à grands flots verse un froid ténébreux
Aux pâles habitants du voisin cimetière
Et la mortalité sur les faubourgs brumeux.²⁵

a vision of pathos in:

Voici le soir charmant . . .
Recueille-toi, mon âme, . . .²⁶

glimpses of a troubled soul in:

Crépuscule, comme vous êtes doux et tendre! Les lueurs roses, . . . les feux des candélabres, . . . les dernières gloires du couchant, . . . imitent tous les sentiments compliqués qui luttent dans le coeur de l'homme aux heures solennelles de la vie.²⁷

and this startling expression that ends all in black:

Je suis comme un peintre qu'un Dieu moqueur
Condamne à peindre, hélas! sur les ténèbres . . .²⁸

We can see his art of color expressionism at its best, however, in "Les Phares," an example of word painting that runs almost through the whole gamut of human impressions:

Rubens, fleuve d'oubli, jardin de la paresse,
Oreiller de chair fraîche où l'on ne peut aimer,
Mais où la vie afflue et s'agite sans cesse,
Comme l'air dans le ciel et la mer dans la mer;

Léonard de Vinci, miroir profond et sombre,
Où des anges charmants . . .
. . . apparaissent à l'ombre
Des glaciers . . .

Rembrandt, triste hôpital tout rempli de murmures, . . .
Où la prière en pleurs s'exhale . . .

Michel-Ange, lieu vague où l'on voit des Hercules
Se mêler à des Christs . . .

Watteau, ce carnaval où bien des coeurs illustres,
Comme des papillons, errent en flamboyant, . . .

²⁴ "Les Bijoux," VI, *Les Épaves*, Jacques Crépet ed., Paris, 1922.

²⁵ "Spleen," LXXIV.

²⁶ "Le Crépuscule du Soir," CV.

²⁷ "Le Crépuscule du Soir," XXII, *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, Paris, 1922.

²⁸ "Un Fantôme," XXXVIII, I "Les Ténèbres."

Goya, cauchemar plein de choses inconnues, . . .
De vieilles au miroir et d'enfants toutes nues,
Pour tenter les démons ajustant bien leurs bas;

Delacroix, lac de sang hanté des mauvais anges, . . .
Où, sous un ciel chagrin, des fanfares étranges
Passent, comme un soupir étouffé de Weber . . .

III

TACTILE SENSATIONS

Baudelaire's sense of touch was equally sensitive and responsive. He was as fastidious in the care of his hands as he was meticulous in his search for the highest perfection in art. He cultivated his power of tactile impressionism to a remarkable degree of sensitiveness and refinement. He loved the touch of soft, velvety things,²⁹ of polished, cold, lustrous metals and stones,³⁰ and the caress of silks and satins which speak in a mute but eloquent language.³¹ The warm, electric voluptuousness of furs made an unfailing appeal upon his senses:

Lorsque mes doigts caressent à loisir
Ta tête et ton dos élastique,
Et que ma main s'enivre du plaisir
De palper ton corps électrique,
Je vois ma femme en esprit. . . .³²

and the play of woman's hair in his hands called forth in him suggestions unknown until then to the Muse:

O boucles! . . .
Extase! Pour peupler ce soir l'alcôve obscure
Des souvenirs dormant dans cette chevelure,
Je la veux agiter dans l'air comme un mouchoir! .

Longtemps! toujours! ma main dans ta crinière lourde
Semera le rubis, la perle et le saphir,
Afin qu'à mon désir tu ne sois jamais sourde!³³

He spoke of himself as the "Amant de la muse plastique,"³⁴ and, indeed, there was in him the soul of the true pagan who delights

²⁹ ". . . doux comme du velours," *vide* "Les Promesses d'un visage," XI, *Les Epaves*.

³⁰ "Ce monde rayonnant de métal et de pierre/ Me ravit en extase, . . ." "Les Bijoux"

³¹ "Les étoffes parlent une langue muette, comme les fleurs, comme les ciels, comme les soleils couchants." "La Chambre double," v, *Petits Poèmes en Prose*.

³² "Le Chat," XXXIV.

³³ "La Chevelure," XXIII.

³⁴ "Les Promesses d'un Visage," XI, *Les Epaves*.

in the glorification of things of the senses, and the spirit of a mystic that urged him to go below the surface of the visible universe to discover its spiritual import.

IV

OLFACTORY SENSATIONS

Baudelaire's most significant and original contribution to the repertoire of æsthetic sensations, however, is his gift of the olfactory faculty to the Muses. It is a case for wonder, truly, that the sensitive and gifted Thalia and Erato and Calliope and Polyhymnia should have been deprived for so long of their fifth sense. Ferdinand Brunetière, with his customary sagacity, alleges as the reason for this the "animalism" of this particular sense, the only one whose enjoyment, he says, is devoid of intellectuality, and, consequently, the coarsest, for which reason no poet before Baudelaire cared to use it in his art, precisely, he feels sure, because it is the least spiritual.³⁵ However this may be, incense has at all times been the delight of the gods, just as fragrant flowers are symbols of love and purity. Benedetto Croce, who cannot be accused of being an æsthetic Hedonist, insists that the æsthetic senses are open windows for the reception of intuitive impressions, and that all sensible impressions can be raised to the level of artistic expression.³⁶ Joubert remarked that "Les beaux vers sont ceux qui s'exhalent comme des sons ou des parfums,"³⁷ and Baudelaire simply carried to perfection this suggestion:

Comme d'autres esprits voguent sur la musique,
Le mien, ô mon amour! nage sur ton parfum.³⁸

Indeed, it is upon his sense of smell that the organic world makes its most vivid impressions. These come to him in a luxuriant and haunting procession, to evoke visions of dreamlands where living is a delightful experience, where nature gives with largess of her colors, scents, and voluptuousness, and where a Nirvanian indolence can enchant and rest the raptured flesh:

La langoureuse Asie et la brûlante Afrique,
Tout un monde lointain, absent, presque défunt,
Vit dans tes profondeurs, forêt aromatique!³⁹

³⁵ *Nouveaux Essais sur la Littérature Contemporaine*, Paris, 1895, pp. 137-138.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-32, 135.

³⁷ *Pensées*, xxv, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

³⁸ "La Chevelure."

³⁹ "La Chevelure."

a world of endless pleasures, where the senses are never satiated or prostrated, and where life is not a burden:

Quand, les deux yeux fermés, en un soir chaud d'automne,
Je respire l'odeur de ton sein chaleureux,
Je vois se dérouler des rivages heureux
Qu'éblouissent les feux d'un soleil monotone . . .⁴⁰

Not dissimilar to these is the sensation of regret, one of the most poignant sung by Baudelaire. An old perfume, wafted through the air, will rekindle the life of forgotten years, the futile, the irremediable past with its painful and melancholy thoughts:

Voilà le souvenir enivrant qui voltige
Dans l'air troublé; les yeux se ferment; le Vertige
Saisit l'âme vaincue et la pousse à deux mains . . .⁴¹

and in his being throb again the joys and the sorrows, the loves and the vows that have gone the way of all mortal things:

Mère des souvenirs, maîtresse des maîtresses,
O toi, tous mes plaisirs! ô toi, tous mes devoirs!
Tu te rappelleras la beauté des caresses, . . .
En me penchant vers toi, reine des adorées,
Je croyais respirer le parfum de ton sang . . .
Et je buvais ton souffle, ô douceur, ô poison; . . .
— O serments! ô parfums! ô baisers infinis!⁴²

Ordinarily, Paul Bourget finds, Baudelaire harps on this string far more persistently than on any other, and he is more sensitive to its suggestions. Perfumes, Bourget thinks, have the power of recalling to life the feelings of sadness that sleep in the human heart and which are all too evident in Baudelaire's poetry.⁴³ Another critic remarks that commonly the poet's sensations spring from the feminine influence on him, her bewitching world, her fascination, her beauty that captivates the senses and the soul, and that they tend in the end to be reincarnated in those very same illusory charms.⁴⁴ If, however, it is through the senses that woman most poignantly appeals to him, and how else, it may be asked in his defence, does woman most generally make her appeal, it is also through her that his thought and aspiration rise most eloquently to reach the infinity of his ideal:

Sa chair, spirituelle a le parfum des Anges, . . .
Son fantôme dans l'air danse comme un flambeau.

⁴⁰ "Parfum Exotique," XXII.

⁴¹ "Le Flacon."

⁴² "Le Balcon," XXXVI.

⁴³ "Psychologie Contemporaine," *La Nouvelle Revue*, XIII (1881), 415.

⁴⁴ P. Flottes, *Charles Baudelaire, l'Homme et le Poète*, Paris, 1922, p. 102.

Parfois il parle et dit: "Je suis belle, et j'ordonne
Que pour l'amour de moi vous n'aimiez que le Beau;
Je suis l'Ange gardien, la Muse et la Madone!"⁴⁵

We find also that, very naturally, perfumes and incense conduce to religious evocations in him:

Lecteur, as-tu quelquefois respiré
Avec ivresse et lente gourmandise
Ce grain d'encens qui remplit une église, . . .
Charme profond, magique, . . .⁴⁶

Often, this mystic feeling finds expression in a single but eloquent symbol. It speaks then to his inspiration:

O Muse de mon coeur, . . .
Il te faut, . . .
Comme un enfant de chœur, jouer de l'*encensoir*, . . .⁴⁷

or to his sense of rhythm and harmony in life:

Voici venir les temps où vibrant sur sa tige
Chaque fleur s'évapore ainsi qu'un *encensoir*;
Les sons et les parfums tournent dans l'air du soir;
Valse mélancolique et langoureux vertige!⁴⁸

or to his love, his guardian angel:

A la très-chère, à la très-belle . . .
Sachet toujours frais qui parfume . . .
Encensoir . . .⁴⁹

Baudelaire thus brought an old human faculty under the sway of the lyre. Seldom before were such fine distinctions recognized in the gamut of olfactory reactions. Every object in nature and in life, every element precious with years and associations: a sumptuously furnished boudoir, a corner or a closet brimming with the secrets and the perfumes of yore, a woman's hand or hair, a child, a flower, every phenomenon in creation thus stands pervaded with its own peculiar atmosphere to which a sensitive organism responds sympathetically:

Il est des parfums frais comme des chairs d'enfants,
Doux comme les hautbois, verts comme les prairies,
— Et d'autres, corrompus, riches et triomphants,

Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies,
Comme l'ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l'encens,
Qui chantent les transports de l'esprit et des sens.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ *Les Fleurs du Mal*, XLII.

⁴⁶ "Un Fantôme," II, "Le Parfum."

⁴⁷ "La Muse Vénale," VIII.

⁴⁸ "Harmonie du Soir," XLVII.

⁴⁹ "Hymne," X, *Les Epaves*.

⁵⁰ "Correspondance," IV.

There are few emotions in man that are not appealed to, torn away from dormancy and awakened to spirituality by this æsthetic virility. Upon the fine senses of the artist, nature plays as the will of the conductor upon a sensitive orchestra. The mysterious spirit in every form of life which emanates from it as colors from the sun and perfumes from flowers becomes manifest to him, enriching and exalting his being, so that he may transmute it into beauty. His sensations and experiences become as rich and intoxicating as the bewildering variety of nature's living phenomena. His senses become the messengers of the soul through which it seeks to comprehend the secret message of life.

ASTRONOMICAL ALLUSIONS IN SHELLEY'S *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*

By CARL H. GRABO
University of Chicago

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, astronomy made extraordinary advances, most notably in the formulation and seeming verification of the nebular hypothesis. This, first advanced by Kant shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, was restated without acknowledgment by Laplace, and was subsequently supported by the telescopic observations of Sir William Herschel. Laplace postulates, for the solar system, an original nebulous mass of which the sun was a central and more condensed mass rotating on its axis. In cooling, the central mass contracted and rotated more rapidly. The outer parts, through the operation of centrifugal force, were left as a ring, which, in turn, cooling and condensing, formed a second sphere and ring. In the succession of these phenomena lay, presumably, the explanation of our solar system of a central sun with attendant planets, some of these accompanied by satellites.

That Shelley had read Laplace, or some of him, is known.¹ Nevertheless I believe that it is to the work of Herschel that he is chiefly indebted for his astronomical ideas; whether directly through Herschel's papers read before the Royal Society, or through some popularized version, such as was to be found in the excellent scientific monthly, *Nicholson's Journal*, it is probably impossible to say. Laplace's work is for the most part so technical as to be unintelligible to one not well versed in the higher mathematics. Herschel may be understood, at least in his larger and more general ideas, by an intelligent reader almost wholly without mathematical knowledge. Herschel, moreover, appeals to the imagination as Laplace does not, for his work is observational. Through his telescopes the evolution of the cosmos was visibly in evidence. Easily the greatest astronomer of his day, his discoveries were of interest to all intelligent men, as references to him in the letters of Coleridge and the reminiscences of Campbell attest.

¹ Ingpen, *Letters*, p. 415.

In a series of papers read in the years 1802, 1811, 1814, 1817, 1818, he demonstrated that our sun is a star not far from the bifurcation of the milky way and that all the stars visible to us lie more or less in clusters scattered throughout a comparatively thin but immensely extended stratum. I shall summarize in part Herschel's papers in the years 1811-1818 which have to do with the structure and evolution of the milky way and quote briefly from them; for they constitute a picture of cosmic evolution which must appeal to the imagination of any poet or philosopher; and because certain of these passages are, in scientific language, parallel to poetic passages in Shelley. The papers have to do, first, with the various stages of nebulous matter from a state of extreme diffusion to masses loosely organized—solar systems in embryo—and ultimately to completely organized and articulated systems similar to our own; and, second, with the extent of the stellar universe.

In his paper of 1811² Herschel distinguishes carefully between nebulae and star clusters, which he had formerly confused. He then proceeds to classify nebulosities from the primordial extensive diffused nebulosity to nebulous masses of increasing brightness and definiteness of form. As to the principle of condensation apparent in this evolution he remarks:

Instead of inquiring after the nature of the cause of the condensation of nebulous matter, it would indeed be sufficient for the present purpose to call it merely a condensing principle; but since we are already acquainted with the centripetal force of attraction which gives a globular figure to planets, keeps them from flying out of their orbits in tangents, and makes one star revolve around another, why should we not look up to the universal gravitation of matter as the cause of every condensation, accumulation, compression, and concentration of the nebulous matter.³

The degrees of condensation of nebulae from dimness to brightness, Herschel accounts for by the length of operation, in each instance, of the attractive principle. In the fall of the nebulous matter to the nucleus a rotatory principle is evident which gives motion to the celestial body in its formation. He traces the development of nebulae as they become condensed, round, and increasingly bright.

Brightness keeps up with condensation till the increase of it brings on a consolidation which will no longer permit the internal penetration of light, and thus a planetary appearance must in the end be the consequence; for planets

² *Collected Scientific Papers of Sir William Herschel*, II, 459.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 468.

are solid opaque bodies, shining only by superficial light, whether it be innate or reflected.⁴

When we reflect upon these circumstances, we may conceive that, perhaps in progress of time, these nebulae which are already in such a state of compression, may still be farther condensed so as actually to become stars.⁵

The total dissimilitude between the appearance of a diffusion of the nebulous matter and of a star, is so striking, that an idea of the conversion of the one into the other can hardly occur to any one who has not before him the result of the critical examination of the nebulous system which has been displayed in this paper. The end I have had in view, by arranging my observations in the order in which they have been placed, has been to show, that the above mentioned extremes may be connected by such nearly allied intermediate steps, as will make it highly probable that every succeeding state of the nebulous matter is the result of the action of gravitation upon it while in a foregoing one, and by such steps the successive condensation of it has been brought up to the planetary condition. From this the transit to the stellar form, it has been shown, requires but a very small additional compression of the nebulous matter, and several instances have been given which connect the planetary to the stellar appearance.⁶

In his paper of February 24, 1814,⁷ Herschel continued his study of cosmic evolution from a consideration of nebulae forming stars and planets to the grouping of the stars. Beginning with a consideration of stars with nebulous matter about them, stars with nebulous branches, nebulous stars, stars connected with extensive windings of nebulosity, small patches of stars mixed with nebulosity, etc., he proceeds to the sidereal part of the heavens. Stars he considers as essentially like our sun and planets.

. . . It follows that stars, although surrounded by a luminous atmosphere, may be looked upon as so many opaque, habitable, planetary globes: differing from what we know of our own planets, only in their size, and by their intrinsically luminous appearance.⁸

Now since the stars of the milky way are permanently exposed to the action of a power whereby they are irresistibly drawn into groups, we may be certain that from mere clustering stars they will be gradually compressed through successive stages of accumulation, more or less resembling the state of some of the 263 objects by which, in the tenth and six succeeding articles, the operation of the clustering power has been laid open to our view, till they come up to what may be called the ripening period of the globular form, and total insulation; from which it is evident that the milky way must be finally broken up, and cease to be a stratum of scattered stars.

We may also draw a very important additional conclusion from the gradual dissolution of the milky way: for the state into which the incessant action of the clustering power has brought it at present, is a kind of chronometer that may be used to measure the time of its past and future existence: and although we do not know the rate of going of this mysterious chronometer, it is nevertheless certain, that since the breaking up of the parts of the milky

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 495.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

way affords a proof that it cannot last forever, it equally bears witness that its past duration cannot be admitted to be infinite.⁹

From such passages as those cited Herbert Spencer might have drawn his definition of evolution. The integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; the growth of system and order, of suns with their attendant planets emerging from chaos—"the void's loose field"—all are here. Herschel was the first man who, grasping the significance of the cosmic scheme in a simple formula, had verified it in detail through the eye. In his own words to Campbell: "*I have looked further into space than ever human being did before me. I have observed stars, of which the light, it can be proved, must take two millions of years to reach the earth.*"¹⁰

Here, if anywhere, is food for the poetic imagination, and it is clear that Shelley, in passages to be cited, was familiar in general terms with the facts which have been quoted. One detail, a passage from a lyric in the fourth act of *Prometheus*, is to my mind confirmatory, conclusively so, of this hypothesis. The passage reads:

We are free to dive, or soar, or run:
Beyond and around,
Or *within the bound*
Which clips the world with darkness round.
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 138-140)

The passage, to be intelligible, asks a knowledge of Herschel's belief as to the extent of the stellar universe.

In 1785 Herschel had said of the stellar aggregation to which our sun belongs, the milky way, that so far as he "had yet gone round it" he perceived it to be "everywhere terminated and in most places very narrowly too."¹¹ The researches of thirty years failed to substantiate this assertion. The seeming darkness "which clips the world," it became increasingly clear, might be due only to the inadequacy of telescopes. But it was not until his paper of June 11, 1818—and the date is important—that he formally renounced his earlier opinion:

In these ten observations the gages applied to the milky way were found to be arrested in their progress by the extreme smallness and faintness of the stars; this can, however, leave no doubt of the progressive extent of the starry regions; for when in one of the observations a faint nebosity was suspected, the application of a higher magnifying power evinced, that the

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

¹⁰ Edward S. Holden, *Sir William Herschel, His Life and Works*, p. 109.

¹¹ Agnes M. Clark, *The Herschels and Modern Astronomy*, p. 58.

doubtful appearance was owing to an intermixture of many stars that were too minute to be distinctly perceived with the lower power; hence we may conclude, that when our gages will no longer resolve the milky way into stars, it is not because its nature is ambiguous, but because it is fathomless.¹²

On March 12, 1818, three months before this paper was read, Shelley had left England for Italy. *Prometheus Unbound* was composed in the next year and a half, the fourth act being concluded in December, 1819. Deep as was Shelley's interest in science, it is unlikely that Herschel's revision of earlier views long held should have been known to him in his Italian exile where, indeed, the need of books and delays in procuring them are the theme of many letters. Therefore he describes the stellar universe, in accordance with his earlier and inaccurate knowledge, as finite and bordered with darkness.

There are other allusions of an astronomical nature in the lyric from which one stanza has been cited.

CHORUS OF SPIRITS (of the human mind)

Our spoil is won
Our task is done,
We are free to dive, or soar, or run;
Beyond and around,
Or within the bound
Which clips the world with darkness round.

We'll pass the eyes
Of the starry skies
Into the hoar deep to colonize;
Death, Chaos and Night,
From the sound of our flight,
Shall flee, like mist from a tempest's might.

And Earth, Air and Light
And the Spirit of Might,
Which drives round the stars in their fiery fight;
And Love, Thought and Breath,
The powers that quell Death,
Wherever we soar shall assemble beneath.

And our singing shall build
In the void's loose field
A world for the Spirit of Wisdom to wield;
We will take our plan
From the new world of man,
And our work shall be called the Promethean.
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 135-158)

The passage depicts the forces of the human mind, freed by Prometheus from the enslavement of Jupiter, in their work of creating a new universe beyond the stellar universe bounded with dark-

¹² *Collected Scientific Papers of Sir William Herschel*, II, 609.

ness. "The void's loose field" I take to be the thinly diffused nebulous matter, the world stuff, which Herschel had traced through the steps of its evolution into stars and systems of stars. The "spirit of might" which drives the stars can be no other than the force of gravitation.

II.

The astronomical allusions occur chiefly in the lyrical fourth act. Many, in the light of Herschel's findings, especially of his portrayal of cosmic evolution, present no especial difficulties of interpretation, though it is rather surprising that the hard factual content of Shelley's lyrics has not been remarked. The technical virtuosity of the songs, the fascination of their rhythms and imagery, are, it is true, hypnotic in their effect. Yet the charm of the verse is vastly greater if, over and beyond its sensuous appeal, the mind perceives an exact, though sometimes elusive, idea. If the reader fails to perceive that idea, it is a safe guess that the fault is his, not that there is no idea to grasp. The more one studies Shelley's verse the stronger becomes the conviction that it is fundamentally intellectual.

The lightning is his slave; *heaven's utmost deep*
Gives up her stars, and like a flock of sheep
They pass before his eye, are numbered, and roll on!
 The tempest is his steed, he strides the air;
 And the abyss shouts from her depth laid bare,
 'Heaven, hast thou secrets? Man unveils me: I have none!
 (P. U., IV. ll. 418-423)

Heaven's utmost deep gave up her stars more freely to Herschel than to any previous astronomer. His instrument was indeed one of the most powerful ever made. Counting and numbering the stars was extensively carried on by astronomers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was necessary pioneer work. Herschel catalogued a vast number of double stars and made star counts in the effort to determine the laws of star distribution.

He taught the implicated orbits woven
 Of the wide-wandering stars; and how the sun
 Changes his lair, and by what secret spell
 The pale moon is transformed, when her broad eye
 Gazes not on the interlunar sea.
 (P. U., II. 4. ll. 87-91)

I should suppose "implicated orbits" to mean orbits involved with the orbits of others and therefore hard to calculate. "Im-

plicated" is elsewhere employed in this sense of involved or interwoven.

The meeting boughs and implicated leaves.¹³

"Wide wandering stars" may mean no more than stars widely dispersed, or, from the context of the passage, the planets merely, and the alterations in their positions.¹⁴ But it has been suggested to me that "implicated" means orbits other than concentric and that the "wide wandering stars" are therefore comets. Certainly such a reading weights "wide wandering" with a more precise meaning. The characterization of comets as stars is common enough. Yet I think the passage as a whole demands no such subtle rendering. In it the gifts of Prometheus to man are enumerated, among them the arts and sciences. The civilization described is rather a simple one, and the astronomy I should suppose to be that of the early Egyptians or Babylonians. If this is so, the expression "the sun changes his lair" would refer to the *seeming* changes of the sun's position, which are actually due to the movement of the earth. If the actual movement of the sun is meant, Shelley is referring to the then recently discovered fact that our solar system moves in space towards the constellation Hercules. The transformation of the moon I take to mean the phases of the moon, which in her dark period casts no light upon "the inter-lunar sea" between her and the earth. If something more subtle is meant I have failed to grasp it.

SEMICHORUS I

We, beyond heaven, are driven along;

SEMICHORUS II

Us the enchantments of the earth retain:

SEMICHORUS I

Ceaseless, and rapid, and fierce, and free,
With the Spirits which build a new earth and sea,
And a heaven where yet heaven could never be;

SEMICHORUS II

Solemn, and slow, and serene, and bright,
Leading the Day, and outspeeding the Night,
With the powers of a world of perfect light;

¹³ *Alastor*, l. 426.

¹⁴ See, also, Plato, *Timaeus*, Jowett, II, 531: "And in order to accomplish this creation, he made the sun and moon and five other stars which are called the planets, to distinguish and preserve the numbers of time, and when God made the bodies of these several stars he gave them orbits in the circle of the other."

SEMICHORUS I

We whirl, singing loud, round the gathering sphere,
Till the trees, and the beasts, and the clouds appear
From its chaos made calm by love, not fear;
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 161-171)

The identity of these semi-choruses is a bit ambiguous. Earlier in the act (l. 57) a semi-chorus is characterized as a "semi-chorus of hours," to which a second semi-chorus makes antiphonal response. Subsequently (l. 89) a "chorus of hours" and (l. 93) a "chorus of spirits" are introduced which sing separately and in unison. The passage previously cited follows immediately upon two lines ascribed to the "chorus of hours":

Break the dance, and scatter the song;
Let some depart, and some remain;
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 159-160)

Then follows the brief antiphonal of "semi-chorus I" and "semi-chorus II" after which neither Spirits nor Hours reappear. It is plausible, then, to consider the semi-choruses in this instance to be composed both of Spirits and Hours singing (as in the Chorus, ll. 129 *seq.*) in unison. So interpreted their lines constitute a finale for both.

Whether Hours, or Spirits and Hours together, the groups so dispersed are of contrasted functions, the one group, as though personifying the centrifugal forces, seeking outer space for the sphere of its activity; the other, centripetal in nature, clinging to the solar system. The centrifugal forces or hours flee the earth and build a new universe "beyond heaven"; those centripetal drive the earth and the other planets about the sun. The first evolve the "gathering sphere" from nebulous matter until it becomes habitable with the acquisition of an atmosphere, and its erratic motions are subdued to the fixed course of a prescribed orbit. The second group animates the solar system, in which the evolutionary process is at an advanced stage and the movements of the celestial bodies are, by contrast, "solemn, and slow, and serene, and bright." The rapid and fierce movements of the one are ascribed to fear; the tempered motion of the other to love.

As the sun rules even with a tyrant's gaze
The unquiet republic of the maze
Of planets, struggling fierce towards heaven's free wilderness.
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 397-399)

A beautiful and concise statement of the force of gravitation holding the planets to their orbits about the sun and quelling the an-

archic centrifugal force incident to their motion. By "heaven's free wilderness" I assume is meant outer space not yet reduced to system and order—analogueous to the "void's loose field."

Then—see those *million worlds* which burn and roll
 Around us—their *inhabitants beheld*
 My sphered light wane in wide Heaven;
 (*P. U.*, I. ll. 163-5)

The "million" is of significance, this deriving from the investigations of the new astronomy and its discovery of unnumbered stars. That these worlds might, many of them, be habitable, is a plausible inference from Herschel's account of their stages of evolution. He indeed speaks of them as "habitable planetary globes."

Ye kings of suns and stars, Daemons and Gods,
 Ethereal Dominations, who possess
Elysian, windless, fortunate abodes
Beyond Heaven's constellated wilderness:
 (*P. U.*, IV. ll. 529-532)

The passage is an interesting one, with philosophical and mystical implications which may suffice to explain it. Yet the citation from Newton which follows endows the lines with a certain reality which they otherwise lack.

It is possible, that in the remote regions of the fixed stars, or perhaps far beyond them, there may be some body absolutely at rest; but impossible to know, from the position of bodies to one another in our regions, whether any of these do keep the same position to that remote body; it follows that absolute rest cannot be determined from the position of bodies in our regions.¹⁵

The universe of Herschel's earlier speculations was, as has been seen, finite though vast. Its evolution could be measured, and as surely as star systems emerged out of the nebulous world stuff, so surely must all the parts thus evolved come together at last, drawn by the force of gravitation to their common center. It is such an evolving universe that Shelley describes in the lyrics of the fourth act of Prometheus and such a destiny that he predicts.

"What can hide man from mutability?
 (*P. U.*, III. 3. l. 25)

"Not yet exempt, though ruling them like slaves,
 From chance, and death, and mutability.
 (*P. U.*, III. 4. ll. 200-201)

... What to bid speak
 Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance and Change? To these
 All things are subject but eternal Love.
 (*P. U.*, II. 4. ll. 118-120)

¹⁵ Newton, *Principles*, I, 9. Cited by Burt, *Metaphysical Foundations of Physics*, p. 247.

Love, elsewhere, as in various lines characterizing Asia, is identifiable with electricity—"love which is as fire";¹⁶ and in the last prophetic picture of a world liberated from Jove it is to love that hope must look for a new creation after the destruction of the old. For it is evidently Shelley's belief, seemingly justified in his day by astronomical science, as we have seen, that this cycle of creation must sometime end. It is a conception in accord with numerous religions and philosophies.

Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom, and Endurance—
These are the seals of that most firm assurance
Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength;
And if, with infirm hand, Eternity,
Mother of many acts and hours, should free
The serpent that would clasp her with his length,
These are the spells by which to reassume
An empire o'er the disentangled doom.

(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 562-569)

III.

In the lyrical dialogue of the Earth and the Moon in the fourth act of *Prometheus* are a number of passages of astronomical interest. Mr. A. N. Whitehead in his *Science and the Modern World* has pointed out one notable instance.

The Earth speaks:

I spin beneath my pyramid of night
Which points into the heavens,—dreaming delight,
Murmuring victorious joy in my enchanted sleep:
As a youth lulled in love-dreams faintly sighing,
Under the shadow of his beauty lying,
Which round his rest a watch of light and warmth doth keep.

(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 444-449)

"This stanza," Mr. Whitehead observes, "could only have been written by someone with a definite geometrical diagram before his inward eye—a diagram which it has often been my business to demonstrate to mathematical classes. As evidence, note especially the last line, which gives poetical imagery to the light surrounding night's pyramid. The idea could not occur to anyone without the diagram. But the whole poem and other poems are permeated with touches of this kind."¹⁷

What is odd in this citation is Shelley's use of the word "pyra-

¹⁶ See, "Electricity, the Spirit of the Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," *Philological Quarterly*, April, 1927.

¹⁷ *Science and the Modern World*, p. 163.

mid" for a phenomenon more accurately described by the word "cone."

The moon, the earth, and the other planets, being opaque bodies, must necessarily cast a shadow on the side opposite to the sun's; and as every one of the planets is smaller than the sun, that shadow must evidently be conical.¹⁸

I believe that Shelley's use of "pyramid" in this instance is reminiscent of Pliny's use of the word in the same connection.

. . . For night is nothing more than the shade of the earth. The figure of this shade is like that of a pyramid or an inverted top; and the moon enters it only near its point and it does not exceed the height of the moon, for there is no other star which is obscured in the same manner, while a figure of this kind always terminates in a point.¹⁹

And again:

For there are shadows of three figures . . . If the body be less than the light, then we shall have the figure of a pyramid, terminating in a point.²⁰

There is also poetic justification in the use of the word because of its richer connotations. Pyramids are associated with all manner of religious and occult practises and beliefs whereas cones are barren of such significations.

THE MOON

The snow upon my lifeless mountains
Is loosened into living fountains,
My *solid oceans* flow, and sing and shine:
(*P. U.*, IV. ll. 356-358)

The justification for Shelley's evident belief that there were oceans upon the moon, though frozen, is perhaps to be found in Erasmus Darwin as illustrated by the following note:

That the moon possesses little or no atmosphere is deduced from the undiminished lustre of the stars at the instant when they emerge behind her disk. That the ocean of the moon is frozen, is confirmed from there being no appearance of lunar tides . . .²¹

Shelley in this apparently followed questionable authority, for that the moon was wholly without frozen oceans is clearly shown in an excellent article on the Moon in *Chambers Cyclopaedia* of 1781—a date ten years prior to Darwin's note. Says the *Cyclopaedia* article in part:

¹⁸ Tiberius Cavallo, *Elements of Natural and Experimental Philosophy*, IV, 125. London, 1803.

¹⁹ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book II, Cap. 7, p. 34. (Translated by Bostock and Riley. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²¹ Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden*, note, p. 66.

Those parts of the moon, which were formerly thought to be seas, are now found to be only vast deep cavities, and places which reflect not the sun's light so strongly as others, having many caverns and pits whose shadows fall within them, and are always dark on the sides next the sun: which demonstrates their being hollow: and most of these pits have little knobs like hillocks standing within them, and casting shadows also. . . . All these appearances show that there are no seas in the moon.

THE MOON

Thou art speeding round the sun
Brightest world of many a one:

.
I, thy crystal paramour,
Borne beside thee by a power
Like the polar Paradise,
Magnet-like, of lovers' eyes;
I, a most enamoured maiden
Whose weak brain is overladen
With the pleasure of her love,
Maniac-like around thee move,
Gazing, an insatiate bride,
On thy form from every side,

.
Brother, *wheresoe'er thou soarest*
I must hurry, whirl and follow
Through the heavens wide and hollow,
Sheltered by the warm embrace
Of thy soul from hungry space,
Drinking from thy sense and sight
Beauty, majesty and might,
(*P. U., IV. ll. 457-482*)

Gravitational force is symbolized in the "warm embrace." "Maniac-like around thee move" is intelligible in the light of the obvious movements of the moon. But more may be implied in the "maniac-like" than this.

The Earth and the Moon also mutually attract each other; but the irregularities in the Moon's motion proceed principally from the attraction of the sun, . . .²²

More important in this passage is the evident suggestion that the attraction or "warm embrace" of the earth, its gravitational pull, is magnetic. And elsewhere, as will be apparent in other passages, the attraction of earth and moon is characterized as electrical. Electricity, magnetism, and gravitation are used with seeming looseness or poetic license. But such is not the case. There is ample evidence in early scientific speculation, from William Gilbert to Newton, to justify Shelley's usage. And inasmuch as these

²² Buffon, *Natural History*. "On the Formation of Planets," p. 25.

speculations serve further to substantiate conclusions drawn in an earlier article²³ as to Shelley's conceptions of the nature of force and the constitution of matter, a number of excerpts and discussion thereof are pertinent.

The first excerpt, from Gilbert, father of magnetic and electric theory, assigns the attraction of earth and moon to magnetism:

The force which emanates from the moon reaches to the earth, and, in like manner, the magnetic virtue of the earth pervades the region of the moon . . . the earth attracts and repels the moon, and the moon, within certain limits, the earth: not so as to make the bodies come together, as magnetic bodies do, but so that they may go on in a continuous course.²⁴

Gilbert uses the terms magnetic and electric interchangeably or as characterizing the same force in different manifestations.

It is very probable that a magnetic or electric such as we find in amber exhales something peculiar that attracts the bodies themselves, and not the air.²⁵

And in another place Gilbert states:

The matter of the earth's globe is brought together and held together by itself electrically—the earth's globe is directed and revolves magnetically.²⁶

Mr. Snow thus concludes of Gilbert's magnetic theory of the earth:

Gilbert claimed that the earth is a great loadstone; it exhibits the same characteristics of attraction as any small or great loadstone does.²⁷

I know of no reference to Gilbert in Shelley's letters or elsewhere, but Newton was apparently familiar with Gilbert, and it is probably from Newton that Shelley derives his ideas of the nature of force and matter, these conceptions, as I have elsewhere shown, being supplemented, in accordance with later scientific advances, by the speculations of Humphry Davy.

Newton, like Gilbert, thought also . . . that the 'force' of a body is the sum total of forces of each particle of which the body is composed. We must always keep in mind that Newton put in the same category all attracting forces, whether their function be gravity, magnetism, or electricity.²⁸

²³ "Electricity, the Spirit of the Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," *Philological Quarterly*, April, 1927.

²⁴ From Gilbert's *De Mundo Nostro Sublunari Philosophia Nova* (1631). Cited by A. J. Snow, *Matter and Gravity in Newton's Physical Philosophy*, p. 140. (Oxford University Press, 1926.)

²⁵ Gilbert, *Loadstone and Magnetic Bodies*, p. 89. Cited by Snow, p. 180.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97. Cited by Snow, p. 177.

²⁷ Snow, *Matter and Gravity*, p. 177.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

This force, or these forces, were in Newton's theory, different functions, forms, or attributes, of the basic stuff of the universe, the ether, whose source, in Newton's metaphysical thinking, was God; though Snow demonstrates that Newton in his purely scientific and mathematical speculations is careful to avoid this mystical conception of the ether and considers it only as an extremely tenuous and elastic medium serving to transmit force and light. A single citation from Newton will suffice to bring out all the points essential to the present inquiry.

Hitherto we have explained the phaenomena of the heavens and our sea by the power of Gravity, but have not yet assign'd the cause of this power. This certain, that it must proceed from a cause that penetrates to the very center of the Sun and Planets, without suffering the least diminution of its force: that operates, not according to the quantity of the solid matter which they contain, and propagates its virtue on all sides, to immense distances, decreasing always in the duplicate proportion of the distances. . . And now we might add something concerning a certain most subtle Spirit, which pervades and lies hid in all gross bodies: by the force and action of which Spirit, the particles of bodies mutually attract one another at near distances, and cohere, if contiguous: and electric bodies operate to greater distances, as well repelling as attracting the neighboring corpuscles: and light is emitted, reflected, refracted, inflected, and heats bodies: and all sensation is excited, and the members of animal bodies move at the command of the will, namely, by the vibrations of this Spirit, mutually propagated along the solid filaments of the nerves, from the outward organs of sense to the brain, and from the brain into the muscles. But these are things that cannot be explain'd in a few words, nor are we furnish'd with that sufficiency of experiments which is required to an accurate determination and demonstration of the laws by which this electric and elastic Spirit operates.²⁹

Newton, then, attributes all manifestations of force to this Spirit which is "electric and elastic," not only the force exhibited in inanimate matter but as exhibited in the nervous action of animals. This "electric spirit," then, is to be thought of, in one of its manifestations, as the vital principle. In another passage Newton speaks of the "ethereal spirit" as being the basis of all matter.³⁰ Force,

²⁹ Newton, *Principia*, last paragraph. Cited by Snow, p. 137.

³⁰ "When I say that the frame of nature may be nothing but ether condensed by a fermental principle, instead of those words write that it may be nothing but various contextures of some certain ethereal spirits, or vapours, condensed as it were by precipitation, much after the manner that vapours are condensed into water, or exhalations into grosser substances, though not so easily condensable: and after condensation wrought into various forms, at first by the immediate hand of the creator, and ever since by the power of nature. . . . Thus perhaps may all things be originated from ether.

"A little after, where I say the ethereal spirit may be condensed in fermenting or burning bodies, or otherwise inspissated in the pores of the earth to a tender matter, which may be as it were, the succus nutritivus of the earth, or primary substances, out of which things generally grow: instead of this, you may write, that that spirit may be condensed in fermenting or burning bodies, or otherwise coagulated in the pores of the earth and water, into some

matter, and the vital principle of animals are then to be thought of as all derived from the spiritual essence, or ether, whose source is God. Shelley in *Prometheus Unbound* identifies this principle also with love.³¹

Thus in the dialogue of Earth and Moon in the fourth act of *Prometheus Unbound* the Moon, exulting in new life, is penetrated by the power emanating from the Earth and exclaims:

Gazing on thee I feel, I know
 Green stalks burst forth, and bright flowers grow,
 And living shapes upon my bosom move;
 Music is in the sea and air,
 Wingèd clouds soar here and there
 Dark with the rain new buds are dreaming of:
 'Tis love, all love!
 (P. U., IV. ll. 363-369)

And so, too, Demogorgon addressing the Earth:

Thou, Earth, calm empire of a happy soul,
 Sphere of divinest shapes and harmonies,
 Beautiful orb! gathering as thou dost roll
 The love which paves thy path along the skies.
 (P. U., IV. ll. 519-522)

The various transformations of force—light, gravitational attraction, electricity and magnetism—are, in Newton's theory, phases of the one primal ethereal spirit. It is this which, emanating from God, wells like a spring, maintaining undiminished the flow of energy which otherwise would fail with the loss incident to retarded motion and the giving off of heat. There is, it is true, a constant interchange of energies between earth and moon, sun and planets, and all other celestial bodies, a relationship expressed by Newton in mathematical terms. This idea is found in *Prometheus* in the lines:

THE MOON (TO THE EARTH).
 "All suns and constellations shower
 On thee a light, a life, a power,
 Which doth array thy sphere; thou pourest thine
 On mine, on mine!"
 (P. U., IV. ll. 440-443)

Newton, however, evidently conceives loss to be incident to this

kind of humid active matter for the continual uses of nature, adhering to the sides of those pores after the manner that vapours condense on the sides of a vessel."

(Newton, Letter to Oldenburg, Jan. 25, 1675-6.)

³¹ "Electricity, the Spirit of the Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," *Philological Quarterly*, April, 1927.

interchange, a loss for which some mystical compensation is found in the activity of an "ethereal spirit." In a passage highly interesting as a link bridging the gap between physical and metaphysical philosophy Newton writes:

. . . The gravitating attraction of the earth [may] be caused by the continual condensation of some other such like ethereal spirit: not of the main body of phlegmatic ether, but of something very thinly and subtly diffused through it, perhaps of an unctuous, or gummy tenacious, and springy nature: and bearing much the same relations to ether which the vital aerial spirit requisite for the conservation of flame and vital motions does to air. For if such an ethereal spirit may be condensed in fermenting or burning bodies, or otherwise coagulated in the pores of the earth and water into some kind of humid active matter for the continual uses of nature (adhering to the sides of those pores after the manner that vapours condense on the sides of a vessel), the vast body of the earth, which may be everywhere to the very centre in perpetual working, may continually condense so much of this spirit as to cause it from above to descend with great celerity for a supply; in which descent, it may bear down with it the bodies it pervades with force proportional to the superficies of all their parts it acts upon, nature making a circulation by the slow ascent of such matter out of the bowels of the earth in an aerial form, which, for a time, constitutes the atmosphere, but, being continually buoyed up by the new air, exhalations, and vapours rising underneath, at length . . . vanishes again into the ethereal spaces, and there perhaps in time relents and attenuates into its first principle. . . . And, as the earth, so perhaps may the sun imbibe this spirit copiously, to conserve his shining, and keep the planets from receding farther from him: and they that will may also suppose that this spirit affords or carries with it thither the solary fuel and material principle of light, and that the vast ethereal spaces between us and the stars are for a sufficient repository for this food of the sun and planets.³²

IV.

In his citation of the passage quoted Mr. Snow remarks: "In passing we may notice the ring of Neo-Platonism found in the above quotation." And indeed the exposition in Plotinus of the First Cause which, like a spring, forever overflows and is manifested in the Intellectual and Vital Principles, affords as intelligible a parallel for this concept as may be found in mystical philosophy. Newton, it is evident, was influenced, whether by his contemporaries, More the Platonist and others, or by his own knowledge of Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy, to speculations which pass the bounds of physical science.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter the intricate field of Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy and in this seek to find parallels for lines and passages in *Prometheus Unbound*. The Platonism of the poem is evident and Shelley's fondness for and

³² Quoted from Newton's paper sent Dec. 9, 1675, to the Royal Society, by A. J. Snow, *Matter and Gravity in Newton's Physical Philosophy*, pp. 140-142.

knowledge of Plato is known, albeit no satisfactory effort has yet been made to evaluate in precise terms his indebtedness thereto. My object here, besides the immediate and, on the whole, obvious interpretation of certain passages, has been (1) further to substantiate the thesis of a former article³³ that Shelley, in identifying love, the vital principle, light, magnetism, gravitation, and electricity as one, was employing concepts in part to be found in the scientific philosophy of his day: and (2) to demonstrate that in his study of scientific thought, especially of Newton, he was led from the materialism and scepticism of Hume and the 18th century Revolutionary philosophers to a more metaphysical philosophy.

"Shelley," it has been remarked, "early became an idealist after Berkeley's fashion, in that he discredited the existence of matter and embraced a psychological or, as it was called, intellectual system of the universe."³⁴ This is true, and no doubt the study of Berkeley had something to do with the change in his beliefs. Yet it is likewise evident that, without the aid of Berkeley, the path to Platonism, or to Neo-Platonism, was sufficiently clear to a student of scientific philosophy familiar with the natural philosophers of antiquity, and with Bacon, Newton, and Davy—to mention only those of great name—whose speculations passed beyond the strict confines of science into the larger realms of philosophy and metaphysics. The speculations of Newton easily bridge the gap between science and mysticism.

³³ "Electricity, the Spirit of the Earth, in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," *Philological Quarterly*, April, 1927.

³⁴ Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 155.

THE DATE OF *RALPH ROISTER DOISTER*

By T. W. BALDWIN and M. CHANNING LINTHICUM
University of Illinois

Does *Ralph Roister Doister* date from Nicholas Udall's Eton days, 1534-41, or from the fifties of the same century? The answer is important historically, because on it depends whether this is the "first regular English comedy." Since the controversy is well known and easily accessible, it is unnecessary to sum it up here, further than to use the evidence that is valid for our purpose.

The most certain fact so far adduced is that the ambiguous letter from *Roister Doister* appears in the third edition of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Logique*, which is dated "mense Januarie 1553;" i.e., January, 1554, as "an example of such doubtful writing which by reason of pointing may have double sense and contrary meaning taken out of an interlude made by Nicholas Udall."¹ Thus the play is certainly not later than January 1554. So far as this piece of evidence goes, however, we have no clue whether the play was actually being acted at this time.

A hitherto neglected allusion indicates that it was being acted. In an anti-reformation tract called *A Pore Help* is a reference to those who

Sing Pipe merri annot,
And play of Wilnot Cannot.²

¹ *Review of English Studies*, Vol. I, p. 278; but see *Englische Studien*, Vol. XVIII, p. 410, note 1.

² Quotations are from the copy of *A Pore Help*, printed by Strype in *Historical Memorials Chiefly Ecclesiastical* (1721), Vol. II, Repository, pp. 34-8, which he records as belonging to "Biblioth. R. D. Joh. Ep. Elien," or as he Englishes it elsewhere, "the Right Reverend Father *John* late Lord Bishop of *Ely*." This copy differs considerably in unimportant details from the Bodleian copy printed by Hazlitt in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 249-266. Hazlitt states that there is a second copy at the Bodleian among Bishop Tanner's books (*Ibid.*, IV, 369). He also says that a copy "appears to be in the Public Library at Cambridge. It was reprinted by Strype in his *Memorials of Cranmer*" (*Ibid.*, III, 250). I have searched the 1694 edition of Cranmer thoroughly, but cannot find any such copy. There is a copy of the pamphlet recorded as now in the Cambridge University Library (*Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge*, I, 179; the catalog refers to Strype's *Memorials*).

Hazlitt notes on the first line of this passage:³ "This is the opening and burden of the song which Tibet, Annot, and Margerie sing in *Ralph Royster Doyster*, act I. sc. iij. It is very probable that the song was older than the play, in which it occurs." But surely the song does not antedate the play. Since each stanza is built on the names of Tibet, Annot, and Marjerie (Madge Mumblecrust), we should need on Hazlitt's supposition to assume that Udall planned and named this comic crew for the specific purpose of working in this song. Surely we may consider it certain then that Udall wrote this song for this particular play of *Roister Doister*. If so, the allusion in *A Pore Help* is later than the play.

But *A Pore Help* itself nearly lives up to its name, since it too is undated. Still its historical allusions are sufficiently definite to redeem this fault. Strype⁴ dates the pamphlet "somewhat before this Year" of 1547, identifying the bishop of the piece as Gardiner, and "Germyn his man" who was hanged, as Germanyn Gardiner, his secretary, who was executed as a traitor March 7, 1544. These identifications are unmistakable, and show that the pamphlet was written later than "Germyn's" death March 7, 1544, but before Bishop Gardiner's death November 12, 1555.

This period is further narrowed by the passage in which the *Roister Doister* reference occurs. These men:

Martyrs would them make
That brent were at a stake,
And Sing Pipe merri annot.⁵

The song with its Annot was chosen because it would suggest Anne. After a trial in which Gardiner took a leading part, Anne Askew⁶ was burned July 16, 1546. Thus it is apparent that the reference of the pamphlet is later.

Gardiner's situation as described in *A Pore Help* assists further with the dating.

Oh! what a man is thys,
That if he could, I wyss,
Would mend that is amyss.
His meaning is indede,
That if he might wel spede,

³ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, III, 260.

⁴ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1721), II, 55.

⁵ Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 36.

⁶ Some one has penciled opposite this passage in the copy of Hazlitt's edition of *A Pore Help* belonging to the University of Chicago "Anne Askin."

And beare some rule agayne,
It should be to their payne.

.

Nay, nay, beleve ye me,
I take my mark amyss,
If once he did not myss
A very narrow Hyss.
Wel, if you come agen,
May happen twelve men
Shal do as they did then.
Have you forgot the Bar,
That ever ther you ware,
And stode to make and mar
By God and by the Contrey,
You had a narrow Entrey,
Take hede of *Coram nobis*,
We wil reckon with *Vobis*.
If you come agen,
We wil know who pulled the Hen.

.

Your hap may be to wagg
Upon a wooden Nagg.
Or else a fair Fyre
May happ to be your Hyre.

.

By the Masse it is no game.
If my Lord wax not Lame,
You wil al be tame.
When you heare him next,
Mark wel his Text.⁷

.

But Hark, ye Loulars, harke,
So wel we shal you marke,
That, if the World shal turn,
A sort of you shal burn.
Ye durst as wel, I saye
Within this two yeres day,
As sone to run away,
As such parts to play.⁸

For the present, Gardiner's opponents may call those burned at the stake, such as Anne Askew, martyrs; "And play of Wilnot Cannot;"⁹ i.e., they may say that now Gardiner will not and cannot burn them. But they are warned that Gardiner's will is perfectly good, so that if he lives, when the world shall turn and he has his way, he will have a fire prepared for them, within two years at most. Already Gardiner has very nearly succeeded in his pur-

⁷ Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 36-7.

⁸ Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 35.

⁹ Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 36.

pose, since they were tried and condemned; the next condemnation he hopes to punish them with fire. By 1 Edward VI c 12, section III, the previous statutes for burning heretics were repealed, and not revived till 1 and 2 Philip and Mary c 6. *A Pore Help* thus belongs in this period. Since Gardiner was removed shortly after Edward's accession, being committed to the Fleet September 25, 1547, and was not restored to power till Mary's accession in 1553, being made Lord High Chancellor August 23, he was not in the position postulated in our pamphlet before August 1553, and thus *A Pore Help* dates August 1553—December 1554.

A brief recital of historical incidents will place it still more clearly.¹⁰ From the time of his restoration to power in August 1553, Gardiner had striven to restore the statutes "De Haeretico Comburendo"; Paget had vigorously opposed. Gardiner almost succeeded in getting his bills through Parliament in April and May, 1554; but was foiled by Paget. At the same period, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were being tried and condemned at Oxford as heretics, while six others—Hooper, Ferrars, Coverdale, Taylor, and Philpot—refused to appear at Cambridge for a like trial. Gardiner missed sending the opposing bishops to the fire at this time but very narrowly indeed. By the next Parliament, the world had sufficiently turned for Gardiner's heresy bills to be passed in December 1554. Immediately after dissolution of Parliament January 16, 1555, the opposing bishops began their procession to the fire on January 22, the first reaching the stake early in February 1555. It is clear that *A Pore Help* is later than the trials and Gardiner's failure to get his bills through Parliament in April and May 1554, but earlier than his success in December 1554.

We see too why Gardiner's champion should have quoted Udall's song at this period. For Udall was Gardiner's "schoolmaster," seemingly from the latter's restoration in 1553.¹¹

Still other allusions confirm and narrow this date in 1554. An allusion to Miles Huggarde is not earlier than 1554. Besides Gardiner,

And also Mayster *Huggarde*,
Doth shew himself no sluggard,

.

As it may wel appeare
By his clarkly Answer:

¹⁰ These incidents are conveniently summed up in Froude.

¹¹ *Review of English Studies*, I, 277.

The which Intitled is,
 Agaynst what meaneth this.
 A man of old Sort,
 And writeth not in sport,
 And answereth earnestly,
 Concluding Heresy.¹²

Huggarde had published two works on the sacrament, the second of which has in its title the echoed phrases: "The Assault of the Sacrament of the Altar; containyng as well six severall Assaults, made from tyme to tyme, against the said blessed Sacrament; as also the names and opinions of all the hereticall Captains of the same Assaults. Written in . . . 1549, by Myles Huggarde, and dedicated to the Quenes most excellent Maiestie, being then Ladie Marie; in whiche tyme (heresie then reigning) it could take no place," London, 1554.

Also, the reformers are warned:

Then durst ye not be bold
 (Against our Lerninges old,
 Or Images ef (*sic*) Gold,
 Which now be bought and Sold.¹³

Burnet records that following Bonner's visitation, which began September 6, 1554, and his episcopal letters of October 24, 1554: "The carvers and makers of statues had now a quick trade for roods and other images, which were to be provided for all places"; also "There were many ludicrous things every where done in derision of the old forms, and of images: many poems were printed," etc.¹⁴ It would seem that the reformers' scorn of the images "Which now be bought and Sold" would apply best to this period about September and October 1554. All things taken together then would indicate a date for *A Pore Help* around September to November 1554. Certainly it dates between May and December 1554.

We now know then, not only that *Roister Doister* was written before January 1554, but also that in 1554 one of its unprinted songs was sufficiently well known to point a veiled allusion. The inference is that the play had been performed, and was pretty generally known about 1553-4. Since Udall could not have become Gardiner's "schoolmaster" and have had his boy actors for performance of the play till the restoration of that official in August

¹² Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 37.

¹³ Strype, *Eccle. Memorials*, II, Repository, 35.

¹⁴ Burnet, G., *The History of the Reformation* (1816), II, 524.

1553, presumably Gardiner's champion in *A Pore Help* had become acquainted with the play after that date.

Not only was *Roister Doister* performed about 1553-4, but there is also evidence that it must have been written or considerably revised not much earlier. Tib Talkapace anticipates the joyful time when:

... we shall go in our Frenche hoodes euery day,
In our silke cassocks, I warrant you, freshe and gay,
In our tricke ferdegews and billiments of golde,
Braue in our sutes of Chaunge seuen double folde.¹⁵

Here is an evident thrust at feminine fancies, which should tell us something of the date. French hoods and billiments do not help, since they were already in vogue in England by the thirties of the sixteenth century. But cassocks for women, and farthingales are much later.

The earliest quotation for women's cassocks in the *New English Dictionary* is: "c. 1550 C. Barnsley [*sic*] *Pride & Abuse of Women* 119 A caped cassock much like a players gown." Bansley refers to farthingales also.

Huffa! goldyloex, joly lusty goldyloex;
A wanton tricker is come to towne,
Wyth a double fardingale and a caped cassoc,
Moche lyke a players gowne.¹⁶

He also applies to these articles of dress other vile epithets which need not be rehearsed here. Since Bansley is one of our earliest authorities, it is necessary to date his work more accurately than has been done. Bansley's treatise ends with "God save kyng Edward, and his noble counsail al,"¹⁷ showing that it belongs in the reign of Edward VI, 1547-53. The fact that Thomas Raynalde published it "at thee Sygne of the Starre" dates its publication 1549-52, because he ceased publication at that place before 1553.¹⁸ The fact that only one work is attributed to Raynalde's press in 1552—merely another edition of a previous one at that¹⁹—makes it unlikely that our pamphlet was printed later than 1551.

The pamphlet itself tells us:

¹⁵ Adams, J. Q. *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, II. 3. 41-4.

¹⁶ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, IV, 239.

¹⁷ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, IV, 244.

¹⁸ Duff, E. Gordon. *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 130-1.

¹⁹ *Handlists of English Printers*, III, Raynalde, p. 3.

We wonder moche at these nyppyng plages,
That daylie on us doo fall.²⁰

In the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, there is no reference to the plague 1547-49, and only one in 1550, November 23. In the *Acts of the Privy Council*, there are no references 1547-9, and only two 1550—one August 21, and one the next day. Creighton is thus evidently correct in saying there was no outbreak in 1550.²¹ But in 1551 came the fifth sweat, beginning at Shrewsbury in March or April. It “appeared suddenly in London about the beginning of July, and had a short but active career of some three weeks. Deaths from it began to be mentioned on the 7th.”²² So severe had it become by July 18, 1551, that the king and council directed the bishops “to exhort the people to a diligent attendance at Common Prayer, and so to avert the displeasure of Almighty God, He having visited the realm with the ‘extreme plague of sudden death.’”²³ Then for some years after 1551 there is no mention of the plague either in the *State Papers*, or in the *Acts*. It is clear that Bansley was offering these double farthingales, and caped cassocks as the reason for God’s anger, because of which He was sending

these nyppyng plages,
That daylie on us doo fall

in July 1551. Thus this treatise was composed about July 1551, and was printed very shortly thereafter.

There is evidence, however, that cassocks for women had been used on the stage some years before 1551, this probably being the point to Bansley’s comparison of cassocks to players’ gowns. In the revels documents, cassocks for women appear in an inventory of April 1, 1547.²⁴ Since these cassocks were already “not seruisable,” they must have had considerable hard usage before that date. Nor is there any record that these cassocks were replaced, indicating probably that they were no longer particularly popular with the stage-ladies of the court. It would seem then that in England cassocks for women passed from the stage into general fashion

²⁰ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, IV, 242.

²¹ Creighton, C. *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 304.

²² *Ibid.*, 259-60.

²³ C. S. P. D., 1547-1580, 33.

²⁴ Feuillerat, A. *Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, 16.

only about the time of our earliest known reference to them about July 1551.

Farthingales came to fashion in England about the same time as cassocks. But first we need to notice the peculiar form "ferdegews" in *Roister Doister*. *The New English Dictionary* defines "? A vulgarism for Farthingale." Flügel²⁵ also queries: "Is it the same as French: *Verdugalle*?" Farmer and Adams are positive that the term means farthingale.²⁶ The consensus of opinion then is that the reference is to farthingales. It is hard to see how it could be to anything else.

Now the first reference in *The New English Dictionary* to farthingales is: "1552 Latimer *Serm. Gospels* iii. 166, I warrant you they had bracelets and verdynggales and such fine gere." This is from a sermon preached by Latimer at Grimsthorpe on Saint Stephen's Day (December 26), 1552. Leaving Mary in the stable and Christ in the manger, Latimer suddenly launches out on one of his amusingly picturesque tirades. None of the fine damsels of Bethlehem came to visit Mary. "No, no; they were too fine to take so much pains. I warrant you, they had bracelets and vardingals; and were trimmed with all manner of fine raiment; like as there be many now-a-days amongst us, which study nothing else but how they may devise fine raiment . . . I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days: for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about . . . no doubt it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals; and I therefore think every godly woman should set them aside. . . . I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too . . . Seeing that God abhorreth all pride, and vardingals are nothing else but an instrument of pride; I would wish that women would follow the counsel of St. Paul, and set aside such gorgeous apparel . . . I say no more; wise folks will do wisely; the words of St. Paul are not written for nothing: if they will do after his mind, they must set aside their foolish vardingals: but if they will go forward in their foolishness and pride, the reward which they shall have at the end shall not be taken from them."²⁷ A

²⁵ *Representative English Comedies*, I, 135, note 3.

²⁶ Farmer, J. S. *The Dramatic Writings of Nicholas Udall*, 126; Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, 439.

²⁷ *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer* (Parker Society), 1845, II, 107-9.

side-note to this passage reads, "Vardingals are learned from players that decked giants after that manner."²⁸ So urgent was this matter of farthingales that Latimer returned to the subject the next day in the same place. "But, I pray you, to whom was the nativity of Christ first opened? To the bishops, or great lords which were at that time in Bethlehem? or to those jolly damsels with their vardingals, with their round-about, or with their brace-lets? No, no: they had so many lets to trim and dress themselves, that they could have no time to hear of the nativity of Christ."²⁹

But Latimer's reference is not the first to farthingales. We have already discussed Bansley's attribution of the sweat of July 1551 to the baneful influence of cassocks and farthingales. A little later in this year, between October 17, 1551, and January 22, 1552, while the Duke and Duchess of Somerset were in the tower, they petitioned for a list of necessities, which included "item a verdin-gale."³⁰ Even in 1550, these abominations had shocked Crowley into an epigram "Of Nice Wyues," in which he describes the London lady:

Hyr mydle braced in,
as smal as a wande;
And some by wastes of wyre
at the paste wyfes hande.
A bumbe lyke a barrell,
wyth whoopes at the skyrte.³¹

Though Crowley does not call these garments farthingales, yet the description cannot be mistaken. It is clear then that farthingales were becoming the fashion in England by 1550.³² The fact that

²⁸ There is thus some probability that farthingales, like cassocks, had their first exhibition in England as stage properties, and thence were transferred to the general fashion. Further color is given to this supposition by Hall's description of a hooped garment which was worn in a masque at court the evening of March 7, 1519 (*Hall's Chronicle* (1809), 597): "there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet borded about with gold, with hoopes frō the wast downeward." Since Henry and his court sought all kinds of spectacular and outlandish attire for these masques, it is not peculiar that they should have tried out the farthingale—if this be the farthingale. But such references do not indicate when these articles of dress became the general style in England.

²⁹ *Sermons*, II, 118-19.

³⁰ Ellis, H. *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, Second Series, II, 215; *D. N. B.*, article Seymour, Edward.

³¹ Cowper, J. M. *The Select Works of Robert Crowley* (E. E. T. S., extra series, No. XV), 45.

³² There is a reference in *Robin Conscience*, which Hazlitt would date about 1550, to both cassocks and farthingales, together with French hoods, and billiments, the tone of the reference being almost exactly that of *Roister*

we have so sudden an outburst from the reformers 1550-52 would indicate that only then had farthingales started to become the fashion. Had these monsters of perdition been much abroad in Lent 1550, when Latimer exposed the iniquity of French hoods, surely they too had been condemned.

It is true that Traill says: "A modified form of the 'farthingale,' or hoop, was worn in England as early as 1545."³³ But a complete and thorough checking of Traill's bibliography has not revealed the basis for his statement. Another possible forerunner of the farthingale is suggested in reproductions of a portrait of Elizabeth Tudor in her thirteenth year (September 7, 1546-September 6, 1547), which show her skirt only down to the knees, and seem to indicate the farthingale effect; but O'Donoghue's description of the portrait does not mention a farthingale.³⁴

We have, then, no clear evidence for a form of the farthingale as the general fashion in England before 1550. The witness of several Spaniards, who would recognize this garment, since it seemingly was a Spanish invention, combines to clinch these other indications of date of introduction. Farthingales were evidently not the fashion February 17, 1544, when Pedro de Gante, the secretary of the Duke of Najera, describes the Queen and Mary Tudor.³⁵ Of the Queen, he says: "Estaua vestita de vna delantera de tela di oro, y vna saya de brocardo, con mangas, a forrada en raso carmesi, e la forra de las mangas de tercio pelo carmesi; la falda tenia mas de dos varas."³⁶ Of Mary: "El vestido q'traya era saya de tela de oro, y vn ropon de tercio pelo morado."³⁷ This Spaniard did not see any suggestion of a "verdugo" in the costume of either of these ladies, or he would surely have mentioned it. Moreover, the presence of a train would seem to preclude the possibility of a farthingale. We may feel certain then that no evident

Doister (Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, III, 238). Unfortunately, it does not seem possible to date this work more nearly without access to the originals.

³³ Traill, *Social England*, III. II. 530.

³⁴ O'Donoghue, F. M. *A Descriptive and Classified Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, I.

³⁵ *Archaeologia*, XXIII, 353.

³⁶ She was dressed in a foreskirt of cloth of gold and a kirtle of brocade with sleeves, (the kirtle) lined with crimson satin, and the lining of the sleeves of crimson velvet; the train was more than two "varas" (i.e., about two yards).

³⁷ The costume which she wore was a kirtle of cloth of gold, and a cloak of murrey velvet.

form of a farthingale had come into fashion in England by February 1544.

But our most definite evidence for the time of introduction of farthingales comes from the Spanish suite of Philip II in 1554.³⁸ In an anonymous letter written by one of this suite, descriptive of English affairs, occurs the following paragraph: "Por acá traen todas verdugados de paño colorado, y sin seda: las ropas que traen encima son de damasco ó de raso ó de terciopelo de colores, y de muy malas hechuras; . . . traen calzas negras y aun parésceseles (*sic*) las piernas, y [á] algunas hasta la rodilla (á lo ménos de camino); y las basquiñas que traen no son largas. Van asaz des-honestas cuando van de camino y áun de asiento."³⁹ The English, then, even in 1554 had not learned to make the farthingale costume well, and wore the kirtle so short as to shock the Spaniards. A passage from another letter written at this time is more explicit that the farthingale had not long been known in England. "La Reina no es costumbre que la vean en tal dia, y ansí se estuvo en su aposento, y las damas y señoras casadas, muy bien aderezadas á su modo, de grandes recamados algunas, y sus verdugados que al fin pasaron la mar. El talle de las de acá bien largo y muy ceñidas; parecen bien cuanto al vestido del cuerpo; el tocado es á la francesa, que á usar el que las señoras mozas usan en España, parecerian harto mejor."⁴⁰

Thus the history of farthingales and cassocks makes it perfectly certain that the present form of *Roister Doister* does not belong to the Eton period 1534-41. We are also certain because of these references that *Roister Doister* was written, rewritten, or revised not earlier than 1550. The reference to the queen's peace (I. i. 38), and the concluding prayer for the Queen show that the play was

³⁸ Muñoz, Andrés. *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra*, 106.

³⁹ They wear farthingales of colored cloth without silk; the kirtles they wear over them are of damask satin, or velvet of various colors, but very badly made—they wear black stockings, and they show their legs to the knees (at least when they are travelling), their skirts are so short. They really look very immodest when they are seated or riding.

⁴⁰ Muñoz, 96. It is not the custom that the Queen be seen on such a day, and thus she remained in her room, and (i.e., with) the ladies-in-waiting and the married ladies very well adorned according to their station, some with a great deal of embroidery, and their farthingales which had at last passed the sea (i.e., from Spain). The waist is rather long and tightly girdled; they appear very well in respect to dress of the body (i.e., their dresses suit them, or are becoming to them); the head-dress is the French fashion, but upon using (i.e., if they used) that which the young women use in Spain, they would appear much better.

written, rewritten, or revised certainly not earlier than July, and probably not earlier than August, 1553, when a queen came to the throne. Since we now know that the play was being performed 1553-4, we infer that some such reference to a queen would necessarily have been inserted at that time. This writing or revision would have taken place then July 1553-January 1554. The prayer itself indicates that it was composed at the very threshold of a reforming queen's reign, when all the future was decidedly doubtful. There is the petition:

That hir godly *proceedings* the faith to defende
He may *stablishe and maintaine through to the ende.*

God graunt hir louyng subiects both the minde and grace
*Hir most godly procedyngs worthily to imbrace.*⁴¹

These words have almost unmistakable application to Queen Mary's position the autumn of 1553, though they might by the barest possibility fit the first months of Elizabeth's reign, while their general sentiment, though not their peculiar phraseology, would still have been appropriate even when the play was printed. When we remember that some such prayer must have been written this autumn 1553, surely we cannot escape the conviction that this is it. Too, since Udall was dead before Elizabeth came to the throne, if these words are his, we may be certain they were written the autumn of 1553.

We have both the fact that Udall became Gardiner's schoolmaster in London about this time, and the fact that the acted play is referred to in 1554, by one of the Gardiner circle to indicate that this was a London play. It would appear then that the London setting of the play, pointed out by Hales,⁴² was introduced at this time. It was clearly at this time too that Udall's close friend, Thomas Wilson, first had the opportunity or the suggestion to use the play. In neither the first edition of his logic, nor the second in 1552, did he think of the trick letter of *Roister Doister*, but he used it in January 1554. At this time also would have come into the play those reflections of recent events in Udall's own life pointed out by Mr. A. W. Reed,⁴³ such as the references to debts, courts, and prisons, as also the repeated "Arms of Calais."

Such numerous and fundamental elements make it certain that

⁴¹ V. 6. 50-1, 54-5. Italics not in original.

⁴² *Englische Studien*, XVIII, 421.

⁴³ *Review of English Studies*, I. 276 ff.

Roister Doister was either written or rewritten at this period at the end of 1553. But if so, then, unless there is clear indication of later revision, we are justified in supposing that all elements which could not be earlier than this period also belong to this version. The only definite point, so far as I know, that has ever been adduced for a later revision is the repeated reference to a queen, which has been interpreted as pointing to Elizabeth,⁴⁴ though, as we have shown, the original form of the reference was certainly to Mary. We infer then that there was no later revision, and that the cassock-farthingale reference also belongs to the 1553 version, where its tone best fits.⁴⁵

All these facts make it increasingly evident that if there was any form of *Roister Doister* earlier than the known version of 1553, it was completely and thoroughly rewritten at that time. We have left, however, only one fact which has been supposed to indicate an earlier date for *Roister Doister*. Professor J. W. Hales⁴⁶ has argued that Custance's threat to Roister Doister to "put you vp into the Eschequer," "For an usurer," because he took "gaine of money to any mans harmes," "Fiftene for one: whiche is to muche, of conscience" (V. 6. 20ff), can not be earlier than 1552, when the statute passed in 37 Henry VIII, permitting interest, was repealed. Professor Flügel answers that, since the charge is that of taking too much interest, and that at once, instead of waiting until the year was up, the reference is "to a period between 1545 and 1552."⁴⁷ The underlying difficulty here is the one which makes the legal profession necessary—that of interpreting what actually in practice the law is. Even before any form of "usury" was permitted by Parliament, the lawyers had found a way around, and the final agreement of Parliament seems rather to have been forced by the consideration that, since it could not in fact prohibit the taking of interest, the only way to avoid extortion was to set the legal rates. So early as *Hychescorner*,⁴⁸ printed certainly before 1535, and it would seem certainly not later than 1528,⁴⁹ we hear "Extorsyon is called lawe, so God me spede."

⁴⁴ Fleay, *Stage*, 59; Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 452.

⁴⁵ It is just possible that Udall gleaned his proverbs from Heywood's collection (*Englische Studien*, XVIII, 416-18). If so, these too came into the version of 1553.

⁴⁶ *Englische Studien*, XVIII, 418-19.

⁴⁷ *Rep. English Comedies*, I, 96.

⁴⁸ Manly, *Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 405.

⁴⁹ McKerrow, *Materialen*, XII, xvii.

Henry Bullinger in March 1550 explains the device by which interest was called law. "Usury is, when thou grantest to another the use of thy goods, as of land, houses, money, or any thing else, whereof thou receivest some yearly commodity. For thou hast a manor, a farm, lands, meadows, pastures, vineyards, houses, and money, which thou dost let out to hire unto another man upon a certain covenant of gain to return to thee for the use thereof. This bargain, this covenant, is not of itself unlawful, nor yet condemned in the holy scriptures. . . . For who will forbid to let out the use of our lands, houses, or money to hire, that thereby we may receive some just and lawful commodity? For buying, setting to hire, and such like contracts are lawfully allowed us. . . . And the lawyers did discuss this matter thus: that it is no usury, when the debtor giveth a pension, and some yearly fee, in recompence of the money which he hath borrowed, saving the principal sum which he hath borrowed whole, by a covenant that was made before of selling it back again; because the thing doth cease to be lent, which is so granted to another man's use, that, unless the debtor will, the creditor cannot claim the thing so long as the debtor payeth his pension; for the assured payment whereof he hath put himself in bond: for such a crediting is a flat contract of buying. They say therefore, that usury is committed in lending alone (which ought to be without hire), and not in other contracts or bargains."⁵⁰

Even when Parliament legalized a proper rate of interest, Latimer points out to King Edward in Lent 1550 the fundamental weakness of lack of enforcement. "And here one suit more to your highness: there lacketh one thing in this realm, that it hath need of; for God's sake make some promoters. . . . I hear there be usurers in England, that will take forty in the hundred; but I hear of no promoters to put them up."⁵¹

When, therefore, Parliament in 1552 revoked the statute permitting usury, the situation appears simply to have reverted to what it had been before the statute was passed, and "usury" went merrily on.⁵² Now, one no longer had the ten per cent limit to protect him. He could get legal protection only in case his creditor did not abide by his contract to wait a year, or else charged some such unconscionable sum as "Fiftene for one: which is to muche, of conscience!" Thus the passage in *Roister Doister* tells us noth-

⁵⁰ *The Decades of Henry Bullinger* (Parker Society), Third Decade, II, 40-1.

⁵¹ *Latimer's Sermons* (Parker Society), I, 279; cf. I, 410.

⁵² See the General Index to the Parker Society, under *usury*.

ing clearly as to the date, since it applies perhaps equally well to the practice both before and after the statute.

It is clear then from our examination that the present form of *Roister Doister* took shape in the second half of 1553, and that there is no direct evidence yet adduced for either an earlier or a later version.

We may also notice that the play itself pretty clearly indicates the place and the occasion of acting. While direct reference to physical proportions are few, yet all we have indicate small boys as the actors. Tibet is a "little mouse" (I.3.19; III.2.7), and sings, while Dobinet is a "little wagpastie," "little knaue" (III.2.10; IV.8.22). These references and the whole tone of the play indicate a school production. It was performed in the season of "these long nights" (II.1.33), and "Christmasse chekes" (IV.2.14), while *Roister Doister* "bet the King of Crickets on Christmasse-day" (I.4.73). It would seem then to have been a play for the Christmas season, but after Christmas day—therefore December 26, 1553-January 6, 1554.

The allusion to "the King of Crickets on Christmasse-day" is of prime significance. On this passage Professor Flügel notes, "In the series of the 'blue spider' and the 'gozeling.' Cf. 'the King of Cockneys on *Childermas-day*.' Brand's *Pop. Ant.* I, 536, etc."⁵³ Professor Flügel is referring to the Christmas revels in Lincoln's Inn 1519, when the King (Lord of Misrule) was to sit enthroned on Christmas day, the King of Cockneys on Innocents' day, and the Marshal on New Year's.⁵⁴ The reference in *Roister Doister* is evidently to some Lord of Misrule, entitled King of Crickets, whose power was supreme on Christmas day but was probably confined to that day. If we knew what ecclesiastic or scholastic group had a potentate so titled, we should have conclusive evidence as to the group for which Udall wrote his play.

At least, we know certainly that this group was not to be found at Eton, though Eton in early days had both the Boy Bishop and Christmas plays with their attendant revels. The Boy Bishop was elected on St. Hugh's day (November 17), and because the school was dedicated to the Virgin and Saint Nicholas, was strictly enjoined to officiate on Saint Nicholas' day, December 6, "by no means on that of the Innocents," December 28.⁵⁵ The Bishop had

⁵³ *Rep. English Comedies*, I, 127, note 5.

⁵⁴ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, 414.

⁵⁵ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, 365.

been suppressed before 1559-61,⁵⁶ but was still flourishing in 1507 and later. Presumably a celebration so appealing to the boys would have lapsed only by being forbidden in the general proclamation of July 22, 1541. Thus *Roister Doister*, a Christmas, or post-Christmas play, was not connected with Eton's Nicholas Bishop, whose title was *Episcopus Nihilensis*, his rule December 6.

Further, "At schools such as Winchester and Eton, the functions of Lord of Misrule were naturally supplied by the Boy Bishop."⁵⁷ Whether the Christmas Lord of Misrule at Eton was the same person as the Nicholas Bishop, I do not know; but he still remained a bishop, his title being "my Lord of Mischief," as we learn from the characteristic entry for 1550-1551: "Item paid to Grave for a horse lock delyvered at Chrystemas laste paste at the commandement of my Lord of Mischief, viij^d."⁵⁸ Eton had neither kings nor crickets.⁵⁹

Nor it seems would either king or bishop have officiated at Eton on Christmas day. Festivities regularly began only at Vespers, after the religious observances of the day were completed. But Eton boys were at this period still sent to bed at seven because in earlier days, if not now, they had begun religious services before four in the morning.⁶⁰

Nor was the group for which *Roister Doister* was written of the Eton type. It conformed rather to the full ancient ecclesiastical revels, as did Lincoln's Inn in 1519. In cathedral churches, etc., there were three special days of subversion in the Christmas holidays. On Christmas day after Vespers, the Deacons assumed the rule for their festival till Vespers of the next day, St. Stephen's, December 26, when the priests began their celebration, which continued to Vespers of St. John's, December 27, after which the choir boys came to power with their Bishop for Innocents' day, December 28.⁶¹ Now "On the continent the revels of Childermas Day usually included the performance of stage-plays, and doubtless the same custom obtained in England."⁶² It is a pretty safe

⁵⁶ Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 74.

⁵⁷ Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, 413.

⁵⁸ Lyte, Sir H. C. Maxwell. *A History of Eton College* (1899), 160 note.

⁵⁹ There was no rival organization to whose official an Etonian might be referring.

⁶⁰ Lyte, *History*, 160.

⁶¹ Leach, A. F. "The School Boys' Feast," *Fortnightly Review*, n. s. LIX, 128-141; Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, 336-7.

⁶² Hillebrand, H. N. *The Child Actors*, 26.

guess that *Roister Doister*, a play for boys, written by Gardiner's schoolmaster in the latter half of 1553, to be performed December 26, 1553-January 6, 1554, was the Childermas play of Gardiner's choir school, hence performed December 28, 1553. At least, it fits such a group, and I have not been able to find any other type of organization for boys it would fit, though it were highly to be desired that these customs might be more fully examined than yet they have been.⁶³

Whether there was or was not an earlier form of *Roister Doister*, the present form of the play must at least have been so thoroughly rewritten in 1553 as to constitute it a new play, representing the dramatic achievement of that date, and giving no clue to what might have been true earlier. But if so, it would seem that *Gammer Gurton's Needle* will take precedence over *Roister Doister* as the "first regular English comedy." For *Gammer Gurton*, by its reference to a king (V.2) indicates that it was produced not later than the end of Edward's reign, July 1553.⁶⁴ Since its references indicate performance in the cold season, the inference is that the play is not later than the winter 1552-3, nearly a year earlier at the least than *Roister Doister*. There are less tangible indications that the play may even belong to the reign of Henry VIII.⁶⁵

This, too, is the artistic sequence. In that respect, *Gammer Gurton* falls between *Thersites*, acted October 12-24, 1537, and *Roister Doister* of the autumn 1553. We now have a steady and plausible evolution of early Tudor drama, instead of a full-fledged play in the midst of crude attempts, with no successor for many years. When we have untelescoped the plays that have been thrust into the last decade of the century, we shall probably also find that the development from 1553 to 1592 was much more regular than seems now generally admitted. Indeed we may at no distant date be able to write with considerable definiteness *The Evolution of Tudor Drama*.⁶⁶

⁶³ There seems to be but one other recorded allusion to the King of Crickets, pointed out by Farmer (Note book and word list to his edition of *Roister Doister*). "What, King of Crickets, is there none but you?" This passage is said to be from *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*, by Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle; but we have not been able to locate it in Farmer's facsimile of that play.

⁶⁴ *Rep. English Comedies*, I, 193, and note 2.

⁶⁵ Boas, F. S. *University Drama*, 80-1.

⁶⁶ Miss Linthicum has supplied the material on costume from researches toward her doctoral dissertation on *Costume in English Drama, 1533-1633*, which she is doing under Professor Baldwin's direction. The idea of using this material, as well as the rest of the article, is Professor Baldwin's.

BRIEF ARTICLES AND NOTES

MILTON'S EARLY POEMS, THE SCHOOL OF DONNE, AND THE ELIZABETHAN SONNETEERS

Most critics of Milton have noticed the conceits in his early verse. Conceits bring to mind the school of Donne, so famous for them, and the inference has been natural that Milton in his early verse imitated the school of Donne. So we find W. Vaughn Moody saying that "Milton's boyish admiration was attracted to the tinsel gewgaws of this 'metaphysical' school of poetry,"¹ and A. W. Verity that "at times Milton falls into the strained manner of the 'metaphysical' school, the later generation of Euphuists whose quest was fantastic imagery, far-fetched metaphor, 'preciousness' of phrase."² Sir Walter Raleigh in his book on Milton takes up the matter a little more thoroughly, and points out that "as for the great Dean of St. Paul's, there is no evidence that Milton was touched by him, or for that matter, that he had read any of his poems."³ He also avoids the Johnsonian epithet "metaphysical," and speaks of "the fashionable conceits that ran riot in contemporary English verse." Since he goes on to speak of Donne as the great master of conceits, however, Sir Walter leaves the reader with the distinct impression that by "the fashionable conceits" he means the conceits of the school of Donne.

Nobody can dip very deeply into Elizabethan verse and prose without seeing that the conceit by no means originated with Donne, but abounds in the verse and prose of the nest of singing birds considerably before Donne startled the nest by his sullen writ. Donne gave conceits several new forms, but he certainly did not originate them.⁴ And so there is more than one possible source for conceits in Milton's verse.⁵

¹ Cambridge edition of Milton's complete poems, introduction to "Poems Written at School and at College."

² A. W. Verity, *Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas*. Cambridge, 1918. Introduction to the Ode, p. xxvi.

³ Sir Walter Raleigh, *Milton*, London, 1915, p. 81.

⁴ For an admirably clear analysis of the conceit in and after Donne, with some treatment of the conceit before him, see R. M. Alden, "The Lyrical Conceits of the 'Metaphysical Poets'," *Studies in Philology*, xvii, 183.

⁵ The possibility of Milton's having caught the trick of conceits from

Milton is well known to have been influenced by the earlier Elizabethans, especially by Spenser. But nobody hitherto seems to have tried to differentiate between the conceits which Milton derived from the school of Donne and those in which he followed the conventions of the earlier Elizabethans. And since the only resemblance which has ever been stressed between Milton and the school of Donne is Milton's use of conceits, such a differentiation would show the limits of positive influence from the school of Donne upon Milton.

The more a student at all well acquainted with Donne examines the conceits of Milton's early verse, the less like Donne's they seem. Only a very few look at all like his, and even in the case of those few the resemblance is hard to prove. But conceit after conceit, in the *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, *The Passion*, *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, etc., looks astonishingly like the sort of thing the Elizabethan sonneteers luxuriated in. And further investigation makes the resemblance still clearer. For example:

Milton: So, when the Sun in bed,
 Curtained with cloudy red,
 Pillows his chin upon an orient wave, . . .
(*Ode on Morning of Christ's Nativity*, "The Hymn," stanza 26)

Sir Philip Sidney: In highest way of heaven the sun did ride,
 Progressing then from fair Twins' golden place;
 Having no scarf of clouds before his face,
 But shining forth of heat in his chief pride; . . .
 (*Astrophel and Stella*, Sonnet 22)

Milton: O fairest flower, no sooner blown but blasted,
 Soft silken Primrose fading timelessly,
 Summer's chief honour, if thou hadst outlasted
 Bleak winter's force that made thy blossom dry;
 For he, being amorous on that lovely dye
 That did thy cheek envermeil, thought to kiss,
 But killed, alas! and then bewailed his fatal bliss.
 (*On the Death of a Fair Infant*)

Giles Fletcher the elder: When as my Love lay sickly in her bed,
 Pale Death did post, in hope to have a prey;
 But she so spotless made him, that he fled:
 'Unmeet to die,' he cried; and could not stay.
 (*Licia*, published 1593, Sonnet 24)

Sir P. Sidney(?): The scourge of life, and death's extreme disgrace,
 The smoke of hell, the monster called Pain;

Marini in Italy, or Góngora in Spain, is negligible, since practically all the conceits in Milton's verse occur in that written before his Italian journey, and he is not likely to have caught from reading foreign books a trick so very prevalent in English verse of the time.

Late harbours in her face, whom Nature wrought
 As Treasure House where he best gifts do bide.
 And so, by privilege of sacred seat—
 A seat where beauty shines, and virtue reigns—
 He hopes for some small praise, since she hath great;
 Within her beams wrapping his cruel stains.

Oh, saucy Pain! Let not thy error last.

More loving eyes she draws, more hate thou hast!

(Sonnet attributed to Sidney, published in Constable's *Diana*, 1594)⁶

Milton: Mine eye hath found that sad sepulchral rock
 That was the casket of Heaven's richest store,
 And here, though grief my feeble hands up-lock,
 Yet on the softened quarry would I score
 My plaining verse as lively as before;
 For sure so well instructed are my tears
 That they would fitly fall in ordered characters.
 (*The Passion*, Stanza VII)

B. Tofte: As rocks become, exposed 'gainst waves and wind,
 More hard; such is thy nature, stubborn Dame!
 Opposed 'gainst waters of my complaints more kind;

 With complaints and sighs, she doth become more hard.
 (*Laura*, 1597, Part II, Sonnet 7)⁷

Milton: Resolve me, then, O Soul most surely blest,

 Oh, say me true if thou wert mortal wight,
 And why from us so quickly thou didst take thy flight.

 Wert thou some star, which from the ruined roof
 Of shaken Olympus by mischance didst fall;
 Which careful Jove in nature's true behoof
 Took up, and in fit place did reinstall?
 (*On the Death of a Fair Infant*)

M. Drayton: Mongst all the creatures in this spacious round,
 Of the birds' kind, the Phoenix is alone:
 Which best by you, of living things is known;
 None like to that! None like to you is found!
 Your Beauty is the hot and splend'rous sun.
 The precious spices be your chaste desire;
 Which being kindled by that heavenly fire,
 Your life, so like the Phoenix's begun.
 Yourself thus burned in that sacred flame,
 With so rare sweetness all the heavens perfuming;
 Again increasing, as you are consuming,
 Only by dying born the very same.
 And winged by Fame, you to the stars ascend!
 So you, of time shall live beyond the end.
 (*Idea*, edition of 1619, Sonnet 16. First printed in 1594)⁸

⁶ See also Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, Sonnet 32, for a similar conceit, this time concerning Morpheus.

⁷ For similar conceits, see B. Barnes: *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, Sonnet 30. Also Spenser's *Amoretti*, Sonnet 18.

⁸ For similar comparison or translation of the lady to a star see Spenser's *Amoretti*, Sonnet 34; also Sir John Davies, *Hymns of Astraea*, published 1599, Hymn 14.

Milton: But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
(On his Being Arrived to the Age of Twenty-three)

B. Griffin: I have not spent the April of my time,
 The sweet of Youth in plotting in the air!
 But do, at first adventure, seek to climb,
 Whilst flowers of blooming years are green and fair.
(Fidessa, 1596, Sonnet 35)

The foregoing are not intended to suggest that Milton copied each particular conceit from a single source, but simply to show that in the conceits, Milton was following, in most cases pretty closely, the conventions of the Elizabethan sonneteers. The numerous conceits in Milton which figure nature as in some way or other sympathizing with human affairs (the *Nativity Ode* is full of them) are far more common among the sonneteers than even among the followers of Donne. The conceit in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* which represents the marchioness as calling on Lucina only to be visited by Atropos is typical in spirit of the sort of conceit that represents Death as repenting when he sees the beauty of the lady he has come for.

In illustrating his statement that Milton followed the school of Donne, Moody refers to the whole of *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, and to the stanza from *The Passion* beginning, "Mine eye hath found that sad, sepulchral rock." Both these conceits have just been paralleled in the sonneteers. Verity gives as a striking example of Milton's metaphysical conceits the expression "enamel'd arras of the rainbow," in the *Nativity Ode*. If one takes "enamel'd" in its modern use the conceit seems Donne-like. But the word is used again and again in Elizabethan literature metaphorically, in the same spirit Milton uses it. Sidney in his *Astrophel and Stella*, for example, gives us the following examples:

Let dainty wits cry on the Sisters nine,
 That bravely maskt, their fancies may be told;
 Or Pindar's apes flaunt they in phrases fine,
 Enameling with pied flowers their thoughts of gold.
(Sonnet 3)

. . . that sweet air which is
 Morn's messenger, with rose-enamelled skies, . . .
(Sonnet 99)

Sir Walter Raleigh quotes as examples the conceit of Winter's slaying the fair infant (see above for parallels among the sonneteers) and a passage in *Comus*:

O thievish Night,
 Why shouldst thou, but for some felonious end,

In thy dark lantern thus close up the stars
Which Nature hung in heaven, and filled their lamps
With everlasting oil to give due light
To the misled and lonely traveller?

This last is more like the school of Donne. But surely Drayton's sonnet comparing his love to a Pheonix (see above) is as far-fetched as the figure of the heavenly lanterns, and in much the same way.

One may grant Sir Walter his figure from *Comus*, however, as a possible echo from the school of Donne. For Milton certainly knew such writers as Crashaw and Herbert, and might easily have picked up the trick unconsciously once or twice. A conceit or two in his second poem on the University Carrier seems more like the conceits of Donne, which were drawn commonly from science and mechanics and occasionally from methods of torture:⁹

. . . like an engine moved with wheel and weight,
His principles being ceased, he ended straight.

And lack of lead made his life burdensome,
That even to his last breath (there be that say't)
As he were pressed to death, he cried, 'More weight!'

These Donne-like conceits occur in one of Milton's very few humorous poems, a fact which may be significant of Milton's attitude toward Donne's conceits, as the arguments Milton puts in the mouth of *Comus* are significant of his attitude toward Donne's and his followers' defense of inconstancy.¹⁰

Some reflection there may be, then, of Donne or his school in Milton's early verse. But since so many of Milton's conceits echo distinctly the earlier Elizabethans, the conclusion seems inevitable that the reflection in them of Donne's school is considerably less, and that of the Elizabethan sonneteers considerably greater, than is usually assumed.

GEORGE REUBEN POTTER

University of California

"SO-LONG," "COLD FEET," "TO BORE FROM WITHIN"

In examining the great descriptive-historical dictionaries, such as Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* and Murray's *New English Dictionary*, as well as lesser lexicological works, which aim to give the meaning and origin of idioms and the idiomatic use of words,

⁹ Cf. Donne, *A Valediction: Of My Name, in the Window*, Stanza 5; *Valediction to his Book*; *Love's Exchange*; etc.

¹⁰ Compare, for example, *Comus's* arguments to the Lady with Donne's poems *Community* and *Confined Love*.

one cannot fail to be struck by the great number of more or less fanciful and often impossible hypotheses. To give a single illustration; the German idiom *Wo Bartel den Most holt* is explained by Grimm as originating under Jewish influence in the cant of the underworld (*Juden- und Gaunerdeutsch*). According to this explanation *Bartel* is from *Barzel*, crow-bar, burglar's jimmy, and *Most* is the slightly changed form of the German-Jewish *Mos*, money. Another authority informs us that Barthel (Zimmer) was an inn-keeper of Meissen in the sixteenth century, famous as a wine-taster and keeper of the finest beer and wines. "Hence to know *Wo Barthel den Most* (must, grape-juice) *holt* is to understand a situation thoroughly, to know where one's advantage lies." Where such wide discrepancies exist it is hardly necessary to say that one or both explanations must be wholly false. The origin of such expressions will doubtless in many cases remain permanently obscure. Even with expressions arising in our own day and generation the origin is quickly forgotten unless noted by the lexicographer at the time and placed on record. Even this is not so simple as it might appear since the person who first employs a new and striking phrase cannot know whether his innovation will be adopted into the language, nor can he be expected to report the origin and precise meaning of his words to the editor or publisher of a dictionary.

The three expressions which constitute the title of this article are certainly all of relatively modern origin, so far at least as their use in English is concerned, and although the meaning of each is sufficiently clear, and even precise, the origin of each is not clearly understood, and indeed is already being guessed at.

I

The very common expression *so-long*, in the sense of "farewell, good-by!" has found its way as a colloquialism into all the leading dictionaries. Webster makes no attempt to explain its origin. *The Century Dictionary* believes that *so-long* is "probably a sailors' perversion of *salaam*," and the *Standard*, omitting the "probably," refers to the expression as a "corruption of SALAAM." No doubt the author of this explanation would himself admit that it is a make-shift, made to do duty for want of something better. The word *salaam* has long been incorporated in the English language so that it is difficult to understand why it should be rein-

troduced in comparatively recent years in so corrupt a form. Furthermore, and chiefly, *salaam* is well understood as signifying a form of greeting or salutation and is never associated with leave-taking or departure. It is the correspondence in rhythmic character (iambic foot) combined with a certain superficial resemblance in sound that must have suggested this explanation in defiance of the disparity in meaning.

As to the precise significance of the expression, those familiar with the term will feel that it is inaccurate to translate it with "good-by!" and let it go at that. There are good-bys and good-bys, and *so-long* is peculiar in that it suggests a separation of short duration with an entire absence of any sad or sentimental emotion; in other words *au revoir* or *Auf Wiedersehn* in plain prose. The following passage, quoted from a story in a recent issue of one of our widely read monthlies, gives the expression in its characteristic setting:

"No, you said day after to-morrow," Benny corrected.

"What's the matter with the old bean, Cis,—giving out? Well, *so-long*. Sally's looking for me to play with her. I'll buzz around Friday night."

Dismissing, then, the *salaam* explanation as impossible, and bearing in mind the fact that *so-long* suggests a brief separation of intimate friends or jolly comparisons, where shall we look for its origin? We are safe in saying, I think, that it will be found to be a shortened form of an expression whose significance corresponds fairly closely with the meaning which still is attached to this in itself unintelligible phrase. The explanation which I have to offer is that *so-long* is a translation or adaptation of the German *Adieu so lange*, the *adieu* having disappeared just as the same word, or its equivalent, has disappeared in *Auf Wiedersehn* and *au revoir*.

A typical illustration for the use of the German *adieu so lange*, with an emotional, or perhaps better unemotional content quite similar to that which pertains to our *so-long*, is the following, taken from Fritz Reuter's "Ut mine Stromtid" (*Reuters Werke, Meyers Klassiker-Ausgaben*, II, 47):

"Wahrhaftig, schon stark auf säben! Ich muss machen, dass ich nach mein Gesin'n seh."—"Täuw," säd Hawermann, "ick kam en En'nlang mit di.—Adjüs so lang," Jochen."—"Adjüs ok, Swager," säd Jochen un blew in sin Eck besitten.

We need only appeal to our *Sprachgefühl* to be convinced that this expression must be of foreign origin. *Good-by so long* is sim-

ply not in accord with the genius of the English language. Instructive in this connection are the German and the English translations of Dr. Stockmann's words (in Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*) as he takes leave, in the third act, of Aslaksen, Billing, and Hovstad:

Schön, schön; adieu so lange, adieu, adieu!
Well, good-bye for the present, good-bye, good-bye.

As to the age of this colloquialism, Murray records its occurrence in English literature as early as the year 1865. In an inconspicuous little bracket, which has escaped the attention of our American lexicographers,—including, up to the present moment, the writer—he also observes: “Cf. *G.* so lange.” With this observation I fully agree, remarking only, in conclusion, that *Ger. so lange* does not have the significance, by itself, which attaches to *Eng. so-long*.

II

Although the expression *to have* or *to get cold feet* may sometimes be used to signify a lack of courage in the presence of danger or difficulties, its precise significance is rather to lose courage in an undertaking already begun. The explanation, and no doubt also the origin of the idiom is again to be found in the German. The phrase belongs to that rather large group of figures of speech which sprang up at the gaming table. (Cf. to stake one's all, *dran setzen, es liegt mir viel daran*, etc.). A player who was “ahead of the game” and fearful that he might lose his winnings would excuse himself from further participation by claiming that he was getting cold feet. Just this situation is amusingly described by Reuter in the following passage (*ibid.*, ii, 355):

“Oh wat!” rep Kurz, de in de letzte Tid gewonnen hadd, “wo kann hei koll Fäut krigen!”—“So?” frog de Rektor heftig, denn hei hadd sinen Gewinnst tau verteidigen, “kann ich nicht ebensogut kalte Füße kriegen wie du?—Kriegst du nicht immer auf unserm Klubb kalte Füße, wenn du gewonnen hast?” un hei set'te dat dörch, hei behöll sine kollen Fäut un sinen Gewinn.

In this connection the editor remarks:

“Kalte Füße kriegen” ist ein beliebter, schon sprichwörtlicher Vorwand, um das Spiel abzubrechen.

Although the German expression is limited, so far as I am aware, to this one situation it is easy to see how the idiom could attain to the wider application that it now enjoys in English, the more

so since its origin has been forgotten, or was never known. In spite of its prevalence in modern American speech (unknown in Great Britain?) the expression has not yet found its way into the dictionaries. I cannot recall hearing the idiom in my early youth and it is my impression that the phrase has not been in general use for any great length of time. From the remark by the editor of Reuter's works, quoted above, one would infer also that the expression is of relatively recent origin in German. As we owe *vamp* to Kipling's Vampire, it may well be that Reuter is to be regarded as if not the originator at least the channel through which *cold feet* has made its way into modern English.

III

Of the three expressions under consideration *to bore from within* is certainly the latest to win for itself a place in our speech. It is also the one whose significance, or at all events whose connotations are least clearly appreciated even by those who employ it. From a recent book review (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, April 4, 1923) I take the following:

He (the author) leads us adroitly from the center of a strikers' meeting in a large city to a quiet farm in the country by means of an agitator who seeks to "bore from within" among the farmers.

The use of quotation marks is significant, indicating that the expression is not yet an integral part of the language of the writer, or of that of his readers. An editorial writer in the *New York Times*, July 5, 1923, also feels that it is not yet safe to omit the quotation marks:

All manner of delegates take the floor to urge views which conflict, but all of which show signs of midsummer madness. William —— is there and so is John —— of Chicago with other "borers from within."

If we may believe this writer, the original borer from within is the mole. In an editorial which appeared two days later, referring to the political convention previously discussed, he writes:

Mr. —— didn't count well, for he left out that most active of Communist moles, Mr. William ——.

Evidently then *to bore from within* is used to characterize the activity of political leaders or social reformers with beliefs or principles regarded as pernicious who identify themselves more or less closely with the persons or the class that they are trying to influence. Just as moles with their unseen, underground boring

create havoc which soon becomes apparent on the surface, so, in the thought of this writer, do these mischievous agitators pursue their incessant and destructive activities. Like most folk-etymology this is ingenious but far from convincing. Moles do not bore from within. They are within, or rather beneath, and there they remain. The origin of the expression must be sought in some form of activity where the agent is and works from within, bringing destruction upon those with whom he is associated,—all of which fails to apply to the solitary, subterranean mole.

The metaphor here is that of the sinking of a ship by boring a hole through the hull from within with the resultant death and destruction of the entire crew. Whether this metaphor originated with Goethe I do not know, but in his *Natürliche Tochter* we find the following lines (Act I, scene 5):

Lasst endlich uns den alten Zwist vergessen,
Der Grosse gegen Grosse reizt, *von innen*
Das Schiff durchbohrt, das gegen äussre Wellen
Geschlossen kämpfend nur sich halten kann.

The King who utters these words is declaiming against secret revolutionary forces which were seeking to destroy the ship of state. The whole situation, therefore, as well as the expression itself, corresponds so closely with the significance of our idiom that one is tempted to regard this very passage as the source of the expression in question.

How one popular expression may give rise to another of different meaning is illustrated in the following quotation from the editorial page of the *New York World*, May 30, 1926:

Evidently, then, the Communistic complex has been boring in at a terrific rate.

If I may venture a prediction as to the future of *to bore from within* I would say that I believe the expression is here to stay. It is clearly a welcome addition to the phraseology of a large group of writers, and that too without the offensive or bizarre character of many of our colloquialisms. On the other hand the tragic character of the metaphor will be softened down in that transformation rather than destruction will be thought of as the result desired. One senses this milder attitude in one of the more recent instances of the use of the expression:

The "boring from within" process which radicals in the west have been utilizing ever since they captured the machinery of the Republican party in North Dakota a few years ago is highly successful.

H. Z. KIP

Connecticut College for Women

THE SOURCES OF LESSING'S *DIE JUDEN*

Although it is well known that Lessing (1729-81) had a wide acquaintance with English drama by the second decade of his career, the extensiveness of his reading in that field before 1750 has not been fully realized. By 1749 he was familiar with at least ten Restoration and early eighteenth-century English playwrights—Wycherley, Otway, Farquhar, Vanbrugh, Shadwell, Lansdowne, Congreve, Etherege, Cibber, Steele—inasmuch as he borrowed material from these authors from 1747 to 1749. English drama was so little known in Germany at that time that it afforded the youthful author an abundance of fresh material for the German stage. The scenario *Der Leichtgläubige* (1747-48) is based on the minor plot of Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, this fact being stated in Lessing's manuscript. The fragment *Samuel Henzi* (1749), as Hermann Hettner has pointed out, is indebted to Otway's *Venice Preserved*.¹ In the present paper I shall show that the main sources of *Die Juden* (1749) are Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1697) and Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem* (1707).² The other English authors mentioned above I shall discuss elsewhere.

The characters of the Baron and the Fräulein in *Die Juden* are derived from the minor plot of *The Relapse*.³ The Baron, though not having comic characteristics, bears a marked resemblance in some respects to Vanbrugh's Sir Tunbelly Clumsey. Both live on country estates, one being a rich country gentleman and the other

¹ *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4th ed. (Braunschweig, 1893-4), II, 455. Hettner's conclusion has been accepted by Josef Caro in "Lessing und die Engländer," *Euphoriion*, VI, 474, and by Franz Schultz in the fourth edition of Erich Schmidt's *Lessing* (Berlin, 1923), I, 210.

² The plays regarded as main sources by Paul Albrecht in his *Lessings Plagiate* (Hamburg, 1888-91), I, 73 and II, 864-933, contain only minor points of *Die Juden*.

³ We know that Lessing was interested in Vanbrugh in 1749. In the first issue of the *Beiträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* (1750), he and Mylius published in German translation Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, Nos. 18 and 19, in which Vanbrugh is recommended as one of the three leading English writers of comedy. In the "Vorrede" (dated October 1749) to the *Beiträge* Lessing referred to Vanbrugh and five other English dramatists in such a way as to imply that he regarded them as the chief playwrights of their country. In speaking of modern drama, he said:

"Wir werden besonders unser Augenmerk auf das englische und spanische Theater richten. Shakespear, Dryden, Wicherley, Vanbrugh, Cibber, Congreve sind Dichter, die man fast bey uns nur dem Namen nach kennet, und gleichwohl verdienen sie unsere Hochachtung sowohl als die gepriesenen französischen Dichter" (Lachmann-Muncker, IV, 52). Lessing laid claim to the authorship of this "Vorrede" (Lachmann-Muncker, VI, 3).

a wealthy baron. Both are very fond of their daughters. After guarding the girls closely from association with men, both urge them to be very friendly with the Reisende and Young Fashion. The two fathers make strikingly similar comments concerning their daughters to the prospective sons-in-law, saying or implying that the charms of the girls are due to nature rather than to art. One says:

What she wants in Art, she has by Nature; what she wants in Experience, she has in Breeding; and what's wanting in her Age, is made good in her Constitution.⁴

The German character remarks:

Sie ist wenig unter Leuten ihres gleichen gewesen, und besitzt die Kunst zu gefallen, die man schwerlich auf dem Lande erlernen kann, und die doch oft mehr, als die Schönheit selbst vermag, in einem sehr geringen Grade. Es ist alles bey ihr noch die sich selbst gelassne Natur.⁵

The particular points of likeness between the Fräulein and the youthful, naïve Miss Hoyden are equally evident. A hoyden is "a rude, or ill-bred girl (or woman); a boisterous noisy girl, a romp."⁶ The Fräulein is characterized as "das wilde Ding."⁷ Both girls are very fond of being in the company of men. Young as they are, both are exceedingly desirous of getting married. When Sir Tunbelly arranges for Hoyden's marriage, she is overjoyed, and at Young Fashion's request for her consent she replies, "Sir, I never disobey my Father in any thing, but eating of green Goosberries."⁸ When the Baron offers the hand of the Fräulein to the Reisende, the girl declares, "Ich versichre Sie, ich werde nie dem Papa mit mehrern Vergnügen gefolgt haben."⁹ In both *Die Juden* and the corresponding portion of *The Relapse*, the country folk are presented at home rather than in the city.

The Reisende in *Die Juden* was developed from the Aimwell of Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*.¹⁰ In other words, Aimwell

⁴ III, iii; London, 1697, p. 59.

⁵ Sc. vi; Lachmann-Muncker, I, 384.

⁶ *A New English Dictionary*, ed. James A. H. Murray and others (Oxford, [1888 ff.]), V, 432.

⁷ Sc. vi; Lachmann-Muncker, I, 383.

⁸ IV, i; London, 1697, p. 63.

⁹ Sc. xxii; Lachmann-Muncker, I, 409.

¹⁰ Lessing seems to have been well read in Farquhar. He used *The Constant Couple* and *Sir Harry Wildair* as important sources for *Minna von Barnhelm* (cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 445-46; 456). In a letter to Karl Lessing dated July 6, 1769, the famous dramatist took his younger brother to task for borrowing too freely from Farquhar without acknowledging the indebtedness.

has replaced Young Fashion, the corresponding character of *The Relapse*.¹¹ Both the Reisende and Aimwell travel incognito.¹² Both ride horseback. Both rescue the Baron-Lady Bountiful and the Fräulein-Dorinda from robbers. In both plays other characters seek to learn the identity of the Reisende-Aimwell by having Lisette-Cherry question his servant (in *The Beaux Stratagem* his pretended servant).¹³ In both cases the servant invents a story that his master is a nobleman who has had to flee because of a duel.¹⁴ The change in the Reisende-Aimwell from an adventuring younger brother of a lord to an idealized Jew was occasioned by Lessing's use of the theme of religious tolerance, which in turn was probably suggested by Gellert's treatment of the theme in *Die Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.*¹⁵ or by the satire on the Catholics in *The Beaux Stratagem*. Near the end of Farquhar's play Aimwell confesses to Dorinda that he is not a lord¹⁶; Lessing changes the motivation of this confession by adding that the Reisende is a Jew.

Martin Krumm is the Gibbet of Farquhar's comedy—a highwayman posing as a respectable citizen. Both tell the Reisende-Aimwell that the country is infested with brigands. Both are suspected by the Reisende-Aimwell of being robbers. Both make

¹¹ This substitution was easily made, inasmuch as both Aimwell and Young Fashion are younger brothers who pose as their titled elder brothers and thereby win heiresses.

Several of Lessing's scenarios contain proof that the dramatist combined characters, motifs, and details from various sources. In the sketch *Der Vater ein Affe, der Sohn ein Jeck* (1748-49?) he indicates that the Baron von Modisch was to be modeled on the Lord Froth of Congreve's *The Double Dealer*, whereas the plot is not taken from that play. In the scenario *Alcibiades* he refers by page or section numbers to five sources—eight times to "Plut.", three times to "W.G.", twice to Otway's *Alcibiades*, once to Campistron's version, and once to "Al. W. H." In "Von den lateinischen Trauerspielen," *Theatralische Bibliothek*, Zweites Stück (1754), he reveals his method of sketching a play. After discussing Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, he gives in the section "Vorschlag für einen heutigen Dichter" suggestions for the treatment of the Hercules theme for the modern stage. He follows now Seneca and now Euripides, and now departs from both.

¹² Though later reported to be his titled brother, Aimwell is at first entirely incognito.

¹³ In Farquhar this task is assigned also to a male servant (Scrub).

¹⁴ For the duel story compare Christoph's words in sc. xiv (Lachmann-Muncker, I, 398-9) with Archer's lines in III, iii (*Comedies of Mr. George Farquhar* [London, 1721], Vol. II; *The Beaux Stratagem*, p. 35). This parallelism is cited by Albrecht (*op. cit.*, II, 916-17).

¹⁵ Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, I, 146.

¹⁶ V, iii; Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

presents to Lisette-Cherry. Krumm's first name, Martin, is the same as that assumed by the disguised Archer.¹⁷

Christoph and Lisette resemble Archer and Cherry, respectively, in specific points.

Lessing seems to have begun his play as comedy of manners, an early stage of the drama evidently being the fragmentary scenario *Der Dorfjunker*.¹⁸ The leading character in this sketch, Herr von Wahn, is obviously intended as a satirical picture of the crude country squire. He is a rough, proud country gentleman who plans to marry his oldest daughter, Fräulein Angelica, to another rough country squire, Herr von Garloh. Herr von Wahn and his daughter remind one of Vanbrugh's rough Sir Tunbelly Clumsey and Miss Hoyden.¹⁹ As in the corresponding portion of *The Relapse* and in *Die Juden*, the scene is on the estate of the country gentleman. Although in *Die Juden* the Baron has lost the comic aspect, his assumption that the highest ambition of the Reisende must be to become his son-in-law²⁰ is in harmony with the pride characteristic of Herr von Wahn. In the case of the Fräulein, something of the comic aspect remains.

Inasmuch as elements from *The Relapse* and *The Beaux Stratagem* were combined in the final version of *Die Juden*, Herr von Garloh in *Der Dorfjunker* may have been intended to be modeled on Farquhar's Sullen, a crude country squire,²¹ and perhaps a character somewhat like Farquhar's Aimwell, the prototype of the

¹⁷ The assumption of Albrecht (*op. cit.*, II, 868-69) that the whole name of Martin Krumm in *Die Juden* (1749) was taken from Weisse's *Die Jubelhochzeit* (1773) is precluded by chronology.

¹⁸ The author frequently altered a dramatic plan before finally completing a play. He made at least two plans (perhaps three) for *Die Matrone von Ephesus*, two for *Der Freigeist*, two for *Die glückliche Erbin* (first called *Die Klausel im Testamente*), three for *Der Schlaftrunk*, two for *Nathan der Weise*, and three or four for *Emilia Galotti*. *Emilia Galotti*, a domestic tragedy (*bürgerliches Trauerspiel*) based on the old Roman story of Virginia, was evidently begun as a non-domestic tragedy (Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, II, 4-6).

¹⁹ It has long been surmised that *Der Dorfjunker* was connected with English drama (cf. Franz Muncker in Lachmann-Muncker, III, "Vorrede," pp. x-xi).

²⁰ Well stated by Waldemar Oehlke in *Lessing und seine Zeit* (Munich, 1919). I, 123-24: "Wir verstehen es schwer, dass der vornehme, hochsinnige Baron von der Voraussetzung ausgeht, der Besitz seiner Tochter müsse für jeden noch so hoch Stehenden das selbstverständliche Ziel grössten Begehrens sein, dass er sie dem fremden Reisenden selbstgefällig zuspricht, ohne auch nur dessen Wünsche zu kennen."

²¹ Because Herr von Garloh was evidently not to be presented in the city, such characters as Sir Wilfull Witwoud in Congreve's *The Way of the World* and Belfond Senior in Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* may practically be eliminated from consideration as possible originals.

Reisende in *Die Juden*, was to be included in *Der Dorfjunker* as the successful lover. Unfortunately, we have neither the sketch of the plot nor a complete list of the characters.

Let us summarize the argument. English drama was little known in Germany at the time of the production of *Die Juden* (1749). Lessing had begun the study of British plays before that time. He mentioned Vanbrugh by name in a preface dated 1749 and is known to have been familiar with several Farquhar comedies later. There are striking similarities between *Die Juden* and the two English plays in question (including some not mentioned in this paper). The Baron and the Fräulein are definite counterparts of Sir Tunbelly and Miss Hoyden, respectively, in *The Relapse*. The Reisende, Martin Krumm, Christoph, and Lisette resemble Aimwell, Gibbet, Archer, and Cherry, respectively, in *The Beaux Stratagem* in particular points. The action of *Die Juden* shows a marked similarity to the latter part of the main plot of Farquhar's play.²² *Der Dorfjunker* seems to be an intermediate stage between the two English comedies and the final version of Lessing's piece. This evidence, it seems to me, warrants the conclusion that *The Relapse* and *The Beaux Stratagem* are the chief sources of *Die Juden*.²³

State College of Washington

PAUL P. KIES

LAUGHTER IN LUCRETIVS

Many are the comments on the melancholy or the sadness in the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius, but few are those on the joy or mirth to be found in that same poem. A passage in Book I.919 ff., with its vivid expression of laughter, impressed me so much upon first reading, that I have long wanted to go on a hunt for more of its kind:

Fiet uti risu tremulo concussa cachinnent
Et lacrimis salsis umectent ora genasque.

²² In his early plays Lessing observed the three unities rather strictly. When he borrowed material from dramas with complicated plots, he simplified the action (cf. Lachmann-Muncker, III, 252-55; IX, 234).

²³ The fact that *Die Juden* differs from the two English plays in type is not an objection to my conclusion. *Emilia Galotti* is a domestic tragedy based on non-domestic material, and *Miss Sara Sampson* a domestic tragedy derived in large part from a Restoration comedy (cf. my "The Sources and Basic Model of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*," *Modern Philology*, XXIV, 65-90). In respect to type, *Die Juden* was presumably influenced to some extent by Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1723). As I shall show elsewhere, this English "sentimental" comedy and purpose play (*Tendenzstück*) had a marked effect on Lessing's *Der Freigeist*, produced at about the same time as *Die Juden*.

These verses are repeated with slight variation in II. 976 ff., thus indicating that the author was probably as well satisfied with the manner in which these words express the symptoms of hearty laughter as Vergil was with his oft-repeated expression of fear:

Obstipui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit.

And why should he not be? All the fundamental physical symptoms of the heartiest mirth, as listed by modern psychologists, appear in these lines. *Concussa* shows the shaking shoulders, *risu tremulo* the vocal reverberations, and *lacrimis salsis umectent ora genasque* the overflow of tears.

Lucretius portrays for us no more such hilarious outbursts, but we find many possibilities for some degree of laughter. We would not all agree on what constitutes his humor. Some would rule out sarcasm and scorn; and in his note on the passage quoted above, Merrill says that *cachinno* is always of scornful laughter in Lucretius. However, in V. 1397 and V. 1403 of his poem we find the noun *cachinni* limited by the adjective *dulces* and in no sarcastic sense. While we assume, then, that this particular example is not of the scornful variety, we do include in this discussion a wide range of humorous material some of which might be questioned on the application of modern standards.

That there has been a change in the idea of what causes laughter is made plain in the study made by Max Eastman entitled *The Sense of Humor*. He explores the sayings of philosophers from Aristotle to Bergson for their ideas of laughter and finds in the earlier philosophers a recognition of sarcasm and scorn which is based on a more intellectual interpretation. In the concepts of later philosophers humor is benign and genial, because of a more popular interpretation. In turning to modern psychologists with their scientific analyses of the causes of the several emotions, we find uncertainty about what makes us laugh.¹ Therefore, taking advantage of this uncertainty I shall infer that some still laugh when their intellect is tickled and some from the motives shared by the many; also that with each of us the appeal may vary with the occasion. Consequently, I shall eliminate neither the ancient nor the modern brand from the examples to be found in Lucretius.

Exuberance of feeling which arises from pure enjoyment of na-

¹ Cp. Edward L. Thorndike, *Educ. Psych.*, I, 169.

ture is very frequent in the *De Rerum Natura*. In the words of Sellar,

No other writer makes us feel with more reality the quickening of the spirit, produced by the sunrise or the advent of spring, by living in fine weather or looking on fair and peaceful landscapes. The freshness of the feeling with which outward scenes inspire him is one of the great charms of the poem, especially as a relief to the pervading gravity of his thought. More than any poet, except Wordsworth, he seems to derive a pure and healthy joy from the common sights and sounds of animate and inanimate Nature.²

The very phrases used in his joyous pictures of sunrise, spring, grazing flocks, and singing birds, tingle with laughter and gladness; e. g., "cum tempestas adridet" (II. 32),³ "ridentibus undis" (V. 1005), "ridenti lepore" (II. 502), "pabula laeta" (I. 14 and 257, II. 317 and 364, and many others), "laetificos fetus" (I. 193), and "laetantia loca aquarum" (II. 344). By such graphic details Lucretius shows the charm of that Nature whose phenomena he explains. For it is the *species naturae*, the aspect of nature, together with *ratio*, reason, which is to banish the fears that trouble mankind.⁴

Such words as *laetus*, *rideo*, *cachinno*, and *gaudium* with their expression of joy, laughter, and happiness occur very often in one form or another through the pages of *De Rerum Natura*. The following figures made from the lists in the *Index Lucretianus* by Johannes Paulson furnish objective evidence of the presence of laughter in Lucretius. Some form of *laetor*, *laetus*, *laetitiae* or *laetificos* occurs twenty-eight times in the first five books, forms of the verb *rideo* or the noun *risus* are found sixteen times, and of *cachinno* or *cachinni* five times, and *gaudium* or *gaudeo* appear in some guise eight times. It is true that in some of these passages there is a joy of no admirable kind, the most extreme of which is found in III. 72, "crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris," but happily, such are comparatively few.

With less kindly laughter, but with an altruistic motive, Lucretius points the finger of scorn and ridicule at some of the things which hinder man's happiness. Of his ability in this respect Sellar says, "He penetrates below the surface of life, with the searching insight of a great satirist, and sees more clearly into the hearts of men, and has a more subtle perception of the secret springs of

² *The Roman Poets of the Republic*, pp. 399-400.

³ Kelsey's edition of the text is used for quotations.

⁴ See I.148, II.61, III.93, and VI.41.

their unhappiness, than any of his country men.”⁵ To Lucretius, as to us to-day, fear seemed the greatest menace to human happiness, and in his mind the fear of the gods was one of the most disturbing of those fears. Therefore he aims to make a “laughing stock” of those traditions to which man is bound in his futile attempt to avert the wrath of the gods. In mocking tones he ends the harrowing tale of the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the cutting words, “tantum religio potuit suadere malorum” and warns Memmius that he, too, will doubtless at some time be frightened by the terrifying words of a seer and seek to withdraw from the paths of reason.⁶ In I. 736-739 he casts a slur on the character of the Delphic oracle’s utterances:

quamquam multa bene ac divinitus invenientes
ex adyto tamquam cordis responsa dedere
sanctius et multo certa ratione magis quam
Pythia quae tripodi a Phoebi lauroque profatur.

In the following words he makes a target of the ceremonies used in the Roman state religion by making them seem a round of hollow forms, burdensome and unlovely in nature, especially the slaughter for sacrifice:

nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri
vertier ad lapidem atque omnis accedere ad aras
nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas
ante deum delubra nec aras sanguine multo
spargere quadrupedum nec votis nectere vota.⁷

Why all these struggles, he says, for what benefit can our favor be to the gods, happy and immortal as they are, that they should undertake to do anything for our sake?⁸ With this sarcastic fling he indicates at once the folly of vain sacrifices to the gods and the Epicurean idea of their undisturbed serenity.

Irony and sarcasm are used freely, too, in regard to the power of the gods. In examples of inevitable decay he includes with rocks and lofty towers the shrines and images of gods, then adds with irony:

nec sanctum numen fati protollere finis
posse neque adversus naturae foedera niti?⁹

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

⁶ I.101 ff.

⁷ V.1198-1202.

⁸ Cp. V.165-168.

⁹ V.309-310.

Again in II. 1095 ff., with what irony he closes the list of the incredible powers of a god! Who could turn all the heavens at once, he asks, and heat all the earths, be everywhere all the time, shake the sky with thunder and hurl bolts of lightning? To such a one we would have to give credit for frequently destroying his own temples and of often venting his aimless wrath upon the innocent while his weapons pass by the guilty. There is little dignity left in such a god as he pictures in the last verses of this passage.

To rid man of the fear of death Lucretius undertakes to prove that all things are made up of atoms and that the soul of man is mortal, being made up of atoms finer and smoother than the rest. In his arguments he often makes use of the *reductio ad absurdum*. The quotation at the beginning of this paper, which portrays such hearty laughter, is the close of an argument against Anaxagoras' theory that things are made up of particles in nature like themselves. He treats in a similar manner Heraclitus' theory that fire is a basic element¹⁰ and that of such as Empedocles who declare that all things are from four originals, fire, air, earth, and water.¹¹ In several passages of Book III, in arguments against the immortality of the soul, is shown the same spirit of ridicule. His twentieth argument is based on the fact that living creatures are found in cadavers. He asks how they get in. Do the souls go on a hunt for the seeds of worms and build there a dwelling-place, or do they, so to speak, enter ready-made?¹² His next argument is that, if the *vis animi* did not come from fixed seed but were immortal and changed about, we should have hounds that fled from deer, hawks that fled the dove, animals with wisdom and men without.¹³ A little further on, in III. 776 ff., we are shown how ridiculous is the idea of many souls crowding about at conception and birth, vying with each other to enter the new body, unless, perchance, they have made an agreement that the first one there should enter first. Although the rational mind may see the injustice of his sallies, the popular mind will share the laugh and pass on.

Another cause of unhappiness to man, though to a lesser degree, receives an extended discussion in the fourth book. Near the close

¹⁰ I.701 ff.

¹¹ I.759 ff.

¹² Cp. III.727 ff.

¹³ III.746 ff.

we have a fine bit of raillery on the illusions brought about by Venus in disguising the imperfections of loved ones.¹⁴ This passage Constant Martha believed to have been taken from some Greek poet of the New Comedy, lost today.¹⁵ Martha's opinion is, however, that, whether the passage is Lucretius' own or an imitation, the use of Greek words in this context is very piquant and natural, for Greek was in Rome the language of gallantry. We are the more conscious of the raillery in this passage since the image of the dignified Venus, the great procreative power of Nature, still lingers in our minds where it was deeply impressed by the fine invocation of the first book.

Here and there we find a harmless irony which might be intended as much for the entertainment as the persuasion of the reader; e. g., the illustration of the dissimilarity in the shape of the primal elements,

ne tu forte putes serrae stridentis acerbum
horrorem constare elementis levibus aequae
ac musaea mele, per chordas organici quae
mobilibus digitis expergefata figurant.¹⁶

Would not one be as much amused as convinced at the comparison of the rasp of a creaking saw with the melodious tones of an organ? In IV. 792 ff., Lucretius gives us a regular "movie" scene with *simulacra* as actors. Of course, in either case he is aiming to convince the reader of his point, but he chooses an amusing way of doing it.

By various kinds and degrees of laughter, then, we have one means by which the poet keeps his promise of sweetening the rim of the cup with yellow honey,

sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore;¹⁷

and the earnest enthusiasm of his message is no less effective.

University of Iowa

LOUISA V. WALKER

¹⁴ IV.1153-1191.

¹⁵ See *Le Poème de Lucrèce*, p. 208.

¹⁶ II.410-413.

¹⁷ I.936 ff.

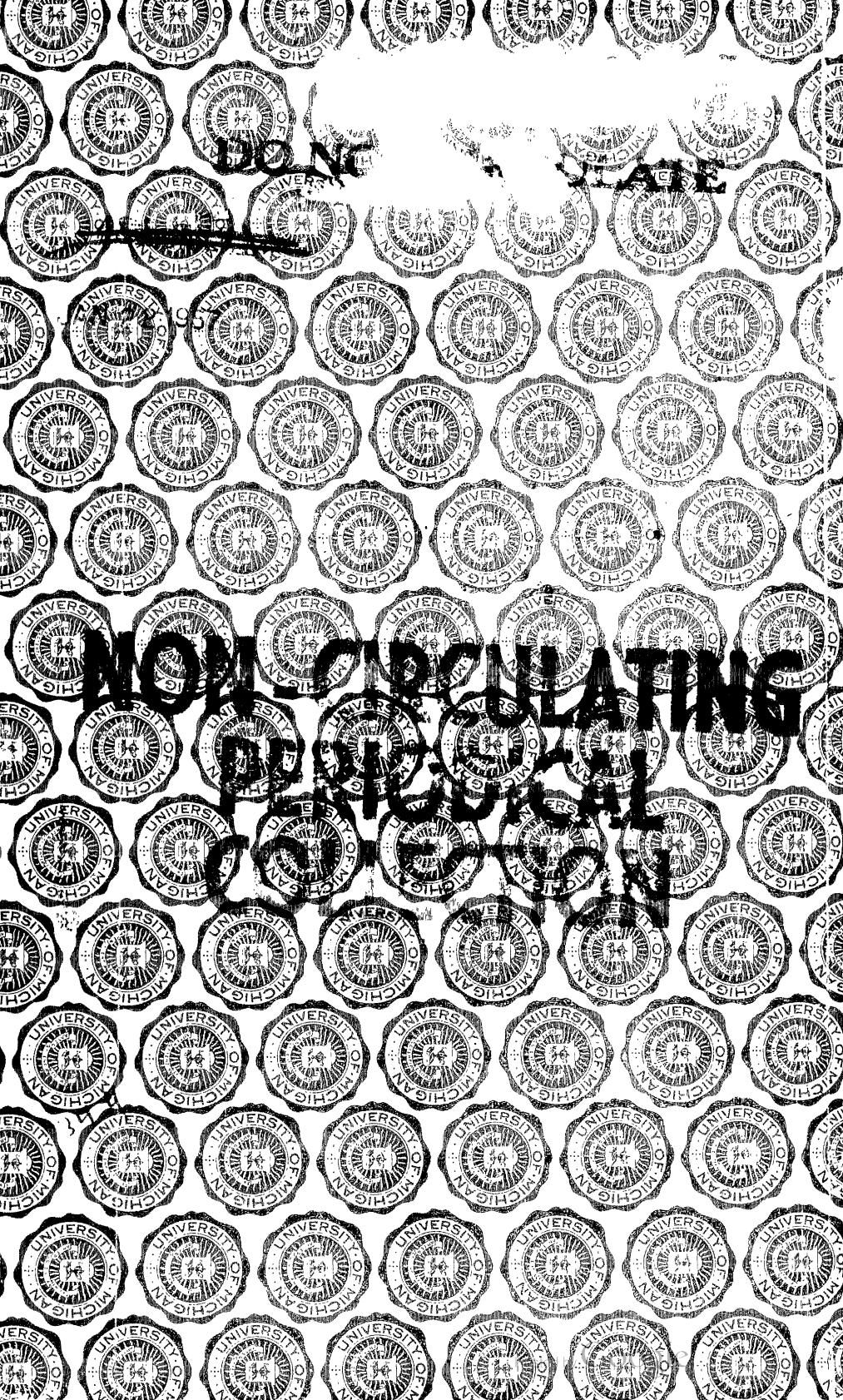
BOOK REVIEWS

The Weavers in German Literature. By Solomon Liptzin. *Hesperia, Schriften zur germanischen Philologie.* Göttingen & Baltimore, 1926.

In showing the importance of the weaver motif in German literature much of the material presented by the author has been heretofore entirely unknown. The treatment of the drama is brought up to the present day while the treatment of lyric poetry does not extend beyond the years following the weaver uprising in 1844. A poet like Josef Schiller, himself a weaver, who wrote *Des alten Webers Klagelied* is not even mentioned. Mr. Liptzin has failed to trace the influence of the weaver revolt on social poetry in general or to consider poetry in which the weavers are not the principal heroes. Freiligrath's revolutionary poem *Wie mans macht* was directly inspired by the weaver revolt. So were many poems from the pens of the poets connected with the *Rheinische Zeitung*. When the author furthermore disregards on principle many socialistic and communistic lyrics because they are without æsthetic value we must take exception to such a procedure. Political and social poetry can not be judged by its æsthetic value and Mr. Liptzin seems to condemn his own work by such a statement. Outside of Heine's song and Hauptmann's drama there is hardly any weaver poetry to which any artistic merit can be attributed. In other places also the author's judgment is at fault. The starving loom-workers were not "the literary pioneers of the proletariat," and the bearers of the revolutionary ideas of the forties, journeymen, students, poets, should not be called "the knights of the gutter and their allies of the attics." Heine's *Deutschland—Ein Wintermärchen* was written after and not before the poet's first return to Germany and its prologue is not a "glorification . . . of the utopian ideals of St. Simon" but a poetical expression of the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx. What Mr. Liptzin thinks of the meaning and purpose of social poetry is not quite clear. In one place he seems to criticise Hauptmann for his failure to suggest a remedy for the social evil and in another he states that the weaver poems enriched German literature although they "were largely poems with a purpose, poems that frequently overemphasized the ethical element at the expense of the purely æsthetic." In spite of these shortcomings the dissertation is in many respects a valuable contribution to the literary history of the nineteenth century.

ERWIN G. GUDDE


University of California.



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